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THE WEST CHINA MISSION OF THE METHODIST
CHURCH OF CANADA, SZECHWAN,
CHINA, 1891-1911

by



KENNETH REGINALD KOWALSKI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE WEST CHINA MISSION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH OF CANADA, SZECHWAN, CHINA, 1891-1911 submitted by Kenneth Reginald Kowalski in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the history of the Methodist Church of Canada's West China Mission in the Chinese province of Szechwan between the years 1891 and 1911. The period chosen makes up the first two decades of the six decade history of this Canadian mission. This segment is divided into three chronological periods: the first covers mission activities and work between the years 1891 and 1895; the second reviews the period between 1896 and 1900; while the years between 1901 and 1911 serve as a final period.

The primary objective of this thesis is to describe the organization and functioning of a Canadian mission in China during the last two decades before the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the emergence of the first Chinese republic. Additional objectives include an assessment of the influence other Christian missions had upon the Canadian mission, an assessment of the institutions established by the Canadian mission with an evaluation of the success of these institutions, and an assessment of Canadian reaction to the Chinese environment and Chinese reaction to the Canadians.

This discussion is based largely upon information found in the Archives of the United Church of Canada, in materials published by the Methodist Church of Canada, and in works published by missionaries associated with the West China Mission.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The study period, 1891-1911

The years 1891-1911 represent twenty of the thirty-four years during which missionaries of the Methodist Church of Canada worked in the west China province of Szechwan. From its birth in 1891, the Canadian Methodist Mission or the West China Mission evolved in size and status until by 1911 it existed as one of the dominant foreign institutions in Szechwan. In the latter year, demands by increasing numbers of Chinese for social and political change and the fury of anti-dynastic revolutionaries reached new peaks. Manchu control over the masses of China came to an end and out of the grave of more than two milleniums of dynastic government emerged a new China. While the story of the West China Mission continues beyond 1911, from 1911 to 1925 as part of the missionary movement of the Methodist Church of Canada, and from 1925 to 1949 as a mission of the United Church of Canada, this study concerns itself primarily with the two decades preceding the establishment of the first Chinese republic. It is a description and evaluation of the organization and experience of a foreign mission during the last years of imperial China.

This segment in the history of the Canadian West China Mission may be considered in three periods. The evacuation of foreign missionaries from Szechwan in 1895, 1900 and 1911, conveniently act as division points and as stages in the transition from conservative Christianity to liberal Christianity. With the age of international missions, many missionaries found themselves divided over the method of approach to be employed in dealing with non-Christians. Conservative Christians placed total emphasis on evangelism, while liberal Christians demanded the provision of educational, medical and various other similar social institutions. The dominant emphasis on evangelism found in the first period (1891-1895) of this study was reduced after each of the above dates as educational, medical and social facilities came to play increasingly more important roles in the "saving of China for Christ".

The first period (1891-1895) begins with the arrival of the Canadian missionaries in China and ends with their forced evacuation from Szechwan in the face of xenophobic outbursts. In less than four years the foundations of the West China Mission were established and made operational. Several new missionaries arrived to aid the pioneer group settled in Chengtu and a second mission station was established in Kiating. But underlying native suspicions evolved into the disastrous Chengtu riots of 1895 which completely destroyed the mission apparatus in less than two days. Without a single Chinese convert to their credit and in fear of

their lives the Canadians were forced to flee to Shanghai.

Following a diplomatic settlement of the Szechwan anti-foreign outbreak, by the British, French and American consuls in Peking, the Canadian contingent returned to the "four river" province in late 1895 to open their second period (1895-1900) of mission work. An evaluation of the 1895 experience and a re-evaluation of their initial policies resulted in a shift in Canadian attitudes from primary emphasis on evangelism to greater educational and medical involvement. Although the years to 1900 indicated increasing responses from the Chinese, an undercurrent of anti-foreign or anti-Christian hostility remained. Riots in 1898 were followed by a Boxer threat in 1900 and resulted in the Mission's second exodus to the China coast.

The final period of this study (1900-1911) opens with the return of the Canadian missionaries to Szechwan and closes with their third withdrawal on the eve of the revolution of 1911. This decade witnessed the growth of the mission both in terms of the acquisition of a new mission field and in terms of the work that its various departments provided. Evangelism reached new heights as hundreds of Chinese joined the mission and very positive steps were taken towards building a Chinese Christian Church. Reforms in China's educational system provided the spark for increased Canadian involvement in education and fostered its interest in one of the most important undertakings in the whole of China - the West China Union

University. Parallel with success in evangelism and education came medical expansion as facilities not only for the training of the Chinese public but for the training of Chinese nurses and doctors were opened. This period and this study draws to a close with Chinese nationalism rampant throughout Szechwan.

Protestant Christianity in China immediate to 1891

In the post 1860 era numerous foreign missions took advantage of the treaties resulting from the two opium wars to actively penetrate the interior of China. Hitherto restricted to a handful of treaty ports, Protestant missionaries embarked upon the "opening" of the Middle Kingdom, and under the protection of international treaties eagerly brought themselves into contact with all aspects of Chinese culture and civilization. While many individuals deplored the necessity for the two wars they soon reconciled themselves to the belief that divine providence had intervened with the prospect of bringing the gospel to China.¹ These missionaries were no less willing than the business element to take advantage of the opportunity set before them; and interest in Europe and America soon provided representatives that not only enabled the missions established in the inter-war period to expand, but allowed new societies to enter the enlarged China field.

¹Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 282.

For all practical purposes, the years preceding the turn of the century were years of pioneering as scores of individuals traversed the whole of the empire constantly preaching, distributing literature and spying out areas ripe for spiritual conversion. Lacking the organization, experience and property of the more firmly established Roman Catholic missions, Protestant missions nevertheless made considerable gains in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The total number of Protestant missions and missionaries grew from twenty societies and eighty-one missionaries in 1858, to twenty-nine societies and four hundred and seventy-three missionaries in 1876, and to some forty-one societies and twelve hundred and ninety-six missionaries in 1889.² Of this number in 1889, five hundred and ninety-one were wives and three hundred and sixteen were single women.³ In turn, the number of Chinese communicants had risen from nearly six thousand in 1869 to over thirteen thousand in 1876 and to thirty-seven thousand in 1889.⁴ Protestant missionaries and Protestant communicants were living in all Chinese provinces except Hunan by 1890.

²Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China (Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1966), 405-06.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 479.

The majority of Protestants dreamed of serving the entire Chinese empire and reshaping its culture and society with the assumed merits of Western civilization. In general they were not satisfied solely in establishing a tight core Christian church but rather "divided their energies between this objective, the remoulding of the empire and its culture as a whole, and meeting what seemed to be human need regardless of whether it led to formal conversion to the Christian faith."⁵ Chinese Protestants were expected to divorce themselves almost totally from Chinese society and customs. A strict observance of the moral tenets found in Christianity, termination of the honorific Confucian and ancestral rites, disassociation with opium and frequently more than a year of religious instruction were demanded before baptism was administered.

These numerous Protestant bodies employed many similar methods in bringing their faith to the Chinese masses. High on the list of their evangelistic approaches was the widescale utilization of itinerant missionaries attempting to promulgate the word of the gospel to all inhabitants of the empire through the distribution of Christian literature translated into Chinese characters. Mission stations with a street chapel, a church, a reception room, a small school, a dispensary and residences were

⁵Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (9 vols. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), VI, 349.

established in central locations within urban centers in order to attract the greatest possible attention from the Chinese. Numerous schools teaching a western curriculum in English to both boys and girls were also set up. By 1889, the number of Chinese students in Protestant schools had risen from nearly six thousand in 1876 to nearly seventeen thousand.⁶ These schools did not prepare students for the civil service examinations, however, and did not become popular until the first decade of the twentieth century. Unlike the Roman Catholic missions, Protestant missions placed great emphasis on medical centers and dispensaries in an attempt to allay Chinese suspicions and win gratitude. By 1895 one hundred and forty-three foreign medical missionaries were supervising seventy-one hospitals and one hundred and eleven dispensaries.⁷ At about this same time one hundred and fifty-one Chinese men and twenty-eight Chinese women were enrolled as medical students in the Protestant hospitals.⁸ Other organizations attacking a variety of Chinese "weaknesses" were also established: schools for the blind and the deaf were opened; anti-footbinding and anti-opium societies were organized; and concerted efforts were

⁶Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 442.

⁷Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, VI, 352.

⁸Ibid.

made in the form of famine relief in destitute areas.

In the period between the opium wars and the arrival of representatives from the Methodist Church of Canada, Christian missionaries propagated their faith throughout the whole of China. The Roman Catholic communities continued to be larger, better organized and closer to the Chinese masses than the Protestant societies. Yet, by the turn of the century the Protestant bodies represented a more distinct and concerted clash with Chinese society. Whereas Roman Catholic missionaries lived and worked within the Chinese environment, Protestant missionaries refused to accomodate Christianity to Chinese society and attacked Chinese culture and customs with a belief in the superiority of Western culture.

Reaction in the midst of evangelization

Protected by international treaties, Christian missionaries no longer saw the need for adapting their faith to the Chinese environment and proceeded to invoke their maximum rights under the treaty system. Traveling where they pleased, they settled illegally in the interior, and they often forced local officials into giving protection for themselves and their converts. As the number of foreign missionaries grew, opposition from many Chinese became more pronounced and violent outbursts against both the missionaries and their converts became increasingly frequent.

Chief among the reasons for the animosity shared by many Chinese in official capacities was Christianity's association with the employment of political force under the shield of protection from its home governments. Not only had Christianity gained a privileged position through the unequal treaties, but by itself it had used deceit in strengthening its position. The clause giving French Roman Catholics the right "to lease and buy land in all the provinces, in order to erect buildings there according to their wishes" was seemingly inserted in the Chinese version of the French Convention of 1860 in a questionable manner, with the result that subsequent discovery of its presence came as a surprise to both the Chinese and foreign powers.⁹ Yet, Christianity did not rescind this spurious clause; instead it invoked the "most-favored-nation" clause and by 1865 forced China to accept a fait accompli.

The scholar ruling class (literati) generally owed its position within the social structure to success in examinations based on Confucian orthodoxy and held since the initial days of contact with Christianity a definite incompatibility between Confucianism and the foreign Christian religion. Furthermore, the existence of several hundred thousand Chinese Christians within the borders of China strengthened its fear of Christianity.

⁹Chao-Kwang Wu, The International Aspects of the Missionary Movement in China (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930), 28-29.

For had not the lower classes turned to odd religious sects when they felt discontented, and had not similar discontent among properly organized social or religious groupings turned to revolution in the past? The literati needed only to remember the T'aiping Rebellion to strengthen its fear of association between Christianity and the peoples of China.

More destructive to the Christian position was the folklore that emerged in the eighteenth century; folklore which plagued mission work in the nineteenth century and which was to confront the Canadian West China Mission after its arrival in Szechwan. Christians were rumored to kill children so that magics and aphrodisiacs could be produced from their organs; the Christians used drugs for abortions; the Christians were cannibals because they believed in transubstantiation; and the Christians practiced sexual immoralities. The Christian church was viewed as a monstrous organization and individual Christians were believed to be devils waiting to pounce on innocent Chinese. Among the masses of China, the folklore associated with all foreign religions and the presence of foreigners frequently brought open hostility. Unfortunately for both the Chinese and the missionaries such hostility led to a vicious circle. If hostility resulted in physical destruction, the missionaries could and did sue for compensation. This compensation, however, came not only from the guilty parties. The nature of the Chinese social structure, which demanded communal

responsibility, often forced the whole population surrounding the site of the outbreak to aid in compensating for the destruction caused by others. Thus, many innocent Chinese found themselves being taxed for an act they had had no part of and soon began questioning the merits of having missionaries settled in their community.

If missionary expansion could not be deterred through the resistance conjectured by the upsetting of the local geomantic harmony (feng-shui, lit., "the spirits of wind and water"), the printed page was frequently employed to advertise the monstrosities performed by the foreigners. As the missionaries continued to arrive many placards and handbills began calling on the local population to take the matter into their own hands and root out the elements of evil. During the 1860's fifty-five anti-foreign and anti-Christian outbreaks occurred and between 1860 and 1899 some two hundred and forty incidents, which often meant attacks on the foreign missionaries and their property, broke out in China.¹⁰

The objectives of this study

Thirteen centuries after the arrival of the first known Christian missionary in China, representatives from the Methodist Church of Canada settled in Szechwan to begin another chapter in the history of Christian missions to the

¹⁰John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, East Asia The Modern Transformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 334.

Middle Kingdom. The pioneer Canadians arrived in the midst of frenzied activity by numerous Roman Catholic and Protestant bodies and in the midst of not infrequent outbursts of hostility by native Chinese. Taking up residence in the provincial capital, Chengtu, they found themselves in the most populous province of China and, in many respects, the most xenophobic.

With a view to giving a comprehensive history of the two decades that the West China Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada spent in China prior to 1911, this study concerns itself with an investigation of: 1) the influence of the other Christian missions on the West China Mission; 2) the goals of the Canadian mission, the importance of these goals and the total result of these goals within the province of Szechwan by 1911; 3) the role played by the Canadians as disrupters of Chinese society and as mediators of Western culture; and 4) Chinese reaction to the West China Mission and the Christian missionary movement in Szechwan.

CHAPTER II

THE CANADIAN WEST CHINA MISSION AND SZECHWAN

The establishment of the West China Mission

Concomitant with the imperialistic ventures of the Western world in the latter part of the nineteenth century came an international religious appeal for Christian men and women to dedicate their lives for work among the "heathen multitudes". Kipling's "take up the White man's burden" and the daring exploits of men like David Livingston fostered a growing humanitarianism among the religiously oriented and the university educated. In Canada, as in the United States and Great Britain, growing numbers of college and university students came under the influence of the Student Volunteer Movement and its catchwords "the evangelization of the world in this generation". At Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario, the decision of three university men, George E. Hartwell, Omar L. Kilborn and James Hall, to devote their lives to missionary work, led eventually to the participation of the Methodist Church of Canada in the evangelization of China.

Hartwell, Kilborn and Hall were high school classmates in Farmersville (Athens), Ontario before they enrolled as university students at Queen's in the mid

1880's. Here the trio distinguished themselves by active participation in Christian activities on the Kingston campus. They soon felt drawn towards missionary work by the enthusiasm of the Student Volunteer Movement. After hearing the zealous oratory of Jonathan Goforth and J. Frazer Smith, two Canadian Presbyterians destined for Honan, Hartwell, Kilborn and Hall became convinced of the need for their presence in China.¹¹ But, while they were determined to work among the Chinese, they were also determined to obtain an educational training which would aid their missionary work. Upon completing their undergraduate degrees, Hall and Kilborn enrolled in courses leading to degrees in medicine and Hartwell enrolled in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey.

Kilborn and Hartwell anticipated completing their studies early in 1891 and in the fall of 1889 forwarded a letter to the General Secretary of the General Board of Missions of the Methodist Church of Canada. It read:

Will the Society send us together to China in 1891? We would work together - Mr. Hartwell as preacher, and myself as doctor - in pushing forward the cause of Christ in some of the as yet untouched provinces of China.

I am well aware that I need not now urge upon you the importance of medical mission work, and most especially as a pioneer agency in a land like China. And I trust that the recent agitation in favor of planting a new mission in China will be decided in the affirmative. If no

¹¹George E. Hartwell, Granary of Heaven (Toronto: The Committee on Missionary Education, 1939), 4.

one goes before, I believe we two would gladly lead the way - if our Church will accept of us.¹²

At about the same time the Board received a letter from another Canadian volunteering for foreign missionary work. David W. Stevenson, a medical student at Rush Medical College in Chicago, offered his services and volunteered to work wherever the Board should decide to send him.¹³

This coincidence which brought the Missionary Society three volunteers for mission work within the short span of several months increased an already growing agitation for the Methodist Church to establish itself in a second foreign field. The Missionary Society had been established in 1824 for work among the Canadian Indians and the relatively uninhabited townships in Ontario. From 1824 until 1873, the year the first foreign mission of the Church was opened in Japan, Methodist evangelists worked in Quebec and propagated their faith in the lands held by the Hudson's Bay Company establishing missions in British Columbia and the Red River area. In the several years immediate to 1889 several prominent Methodist ministers and laymen stressed the desire of opening a new mission field in India, the West Indies, Palestine or China.¹⁴

¹²Edward W. Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1903), 30-31.

¹³Ibid., 29-30.

¹⁴Report of the General Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, for the Quadrennial Period Ending June 30, 1890 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), 256.

At the Third General Conference of The Methodist Church in September of 1890, the report of the General Board of Missions hinted, however, that certain "providential indications" were working in favor of Canadian Methodist participation in the China field: a Kingston woman had some years earlier donated several hundreds of dollars to the Church with the request that the money be kept until a mission was opened in China; the Methodist mission among the Chinese in British Columbia was successful; and three well educated men, two indicating specific preference for China, had volunteered for foreign work.¹⁵ Considerable interest was aroused by the report and several weeks later, at the annual meeting of the Missionary Society, the General Secretary moved a motion for the establishment of a Canadian Methodist mission in China:

Whereas during several years past evidences have been accumulating showing that the Head of the Church is calling us to enter some new fields of heathenism, and thus far leading seems to be in the direction of China.

And whereas several educated and devoted young men have offered themselves for this service, and will be ready to proceed to any designated field in the Spring of 1891. Therefore, Resolved,-

That we respond to what seems to be a clear providential call, and appeal to the whole Church to sustain the Board in this forward movement; and that the Committee of Finance be empowered to take definite action in regards to the selection of a field and the appointment of the young men who have volunteered.¹⁶

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Methodist Missionary Society-General Board, Board Minutes 1884 to 1892, 259-260, (Meeting of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Montreal, October 1, 1890).

With this decision by the Methodist Church to establish a China Mission, the not insignificant problem of finding a specific location in China had to be met. If "providential indications" were present to excite enthusiasm for a China mission, they were no less present in locating the experienced and well-travelled old China hand, Dr. Virgil C. Hart, a short distance from Toronto in Burlington, Ontario.¹⁷

Hart's lengthy experience in China soon aroused the interest of the Missionary Board. When the Rev. Dr. Wakefield, a member of the Missionary Board and the local Methodist minister in Burlington, sought Hart's opinion on a location for the newly established Canadian mission, Hart emphatically replied, Szechwan! In February of 1891 Hart met with the Committee of Consultation and Finance and after short deliberations it unanimously approved opening mission work in Chengtu, the capital city of Szechwan.¹⁸ Hart, with upwards of twenty-five years of service in China, was invited to lead the Canadian contingent. He accepted with unbounded enthusiasm for his new task.¹⁹

¹⁷ see Appendix I.

¹⁸ E.I. Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1917), 222.

¹⁹ Hart accepted with the approval of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States which expected him to return to their service in Central China. Hart never did and finished out his life in the service of the Canadian society.

On October 4, 1891, the pioneer contingent of Canadian Methodist missionaries sailed from Vancouver for China and Szechwan. It consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Hart accompanied by their daughter Estelle, Dr. and Mrs. Kilborn, Rev. and Mrs. Hartwell, Dr. D. W. Stevenson, and Miss Amelia Brown, the latter as a representative of the Woman's Missionary Society.²⁰ Dr. James Hall was also accepted by the Board, but instead of continuing on to China, he resigned his appointment and went to Korea. Two evangelists and two medical doctors formed the core of the Canadian mission destined for the largest, most populous and perhaps wealthiest province in the vast empire of China.

Szechwan: geography and peoples

Of China's provinces none is more capable of precise geographical expression than the largest, Szechwan. Completely surrounded by mountains, rising in altitude to twenty thousands of feet, the one hundred and sixty-seven thousand square miles of its area forms a geographical entity in itself. Szechwan's gateway to the world, the Yangtze River, flows through treacherous gorges that penetrate high ranges on its eastern border. Szechwan, the "four river" province, derives its name from the principal rivers, the Min, the Lu, the Suining and the Kialing, which drain the basin of

²⁰Shortly following the successful resolution for the establishment of a China mission, the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church passed a similar resolution and advertised for two candidates. Only Miss Brown was accepted.

Szechwan southwards into the Yangtze. Together with their tributaries, these rivers have dissected the hills of soft red sandstone and have produced wide and extending plains of rich fertile soil. Chief among these fertile plains is the "Eden" or "Earthly Paradise" of China, the Red Basin, surrounding Chengtu. The fertility of the Red Basin is protected by an ancient irrigation system built some two thousand years ago by the Ch'in engineer Li Ping.

For an area located so far into the interior of a great land mass, the climate of Szechwan is unexpectedly equable. The mountains which have isolated Szechwan from the rest of China for long centuries of history afford protection from the bitter winter winds emanating from the Mongolian steppes. In the summer the southern ranges block the northward movement of the monsoons and bring the province a high degree of humidity and cloudiness. Chengtu, located some thousand miles inland from Shanghai and resting at one thousand five hundred and sixty feet above sea level, has a mean January temperature of 44° F. and a mean July temperature of 78° F., as compared to Shanghai's respective averages of 38° F. and 80° F.²¹ Although the mean yearly precipitation for a great part of the province's fertile regions is only forty inches, the mist overhanging much of the area prevents evaporation and together with the equable temperature range permits a growing season of

²¹T.R. Tregear, A Geography of China (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964), 234-235.

eleven months.

The equable climate, fertile soil and sophisticated irrigation system permit double-cropping to be the norm for two-thirds of the cultivable land. Some three-quarters of the land is irrigated and terracing is widely employed along the fertile valleys.²² As elsewhere in south China, rice is the principal crop grown on the flooded lands. In addition, wheat, corn, rape, sesame, soy-beans, sweet potatoes, barley and peas; a variety of fruits including peach, apricot, pear, persimmon, orange, lemon, cherry and apple; sugar cane and tea are also produced as cash crops. Szechwan is first in China in the production of tung oil and has traditionally followed Chekiang and Kwangtung in sericulture.²³ Numerous types of medicinal herbs are found among the wild and cultivated trees. At the turn of the century opium formed another important cash crop. As well as being rich agriculturally, Szechwan contains important and bountiful supplies of salt, coal and oil.

If Szechwan is the largest and possibly the wealthiest province in China, it is also the greatest in terms of population. Its peoples have been described as industrious, peace-loving, comparatively well-to-do, livelier and

²²British Admiralty Naval Intelligence Division Geographical Handbook, China Proper (3 vols., 1944), vol. 1, 87. Perhaps no where else in China has the art of terracing reached such perfection; the hills are often terraced to their summits.

²³Tregear, A Geography of China, 236.

quicker-witted than most Chinese.²⁴ But, if they are self-sufficient in regards to the sustenance of life, they are also nervous and excitable. The peoples of Szechwan are not the descendents of the historical inhabitants of the "empire province", they are the descendents of two hundred years of willing and forced immigrations necessitated by the ravages of the bloodthirsty peasant rebel, Chang Hsien-chang.

When the last Ming emperor, Ch'ung-chen, attained his coronation in 1628 he ascended the throne over a deteriorating empire. In Shensi, a combination of famine and government austerity forced starving peasants, unpaid government coolies and unpaid soldiers into a state of rebellion. In 1644, the ill-educated Chang Hsien-chang penetrated the Yangtze gorges in the company of one hundred thousand men and conquered Szechwan's two major cities, Chungking and Chengtu. Although Chang established a government paralleling the Ch'ing imperial system, his major pre-occupation was that of destruction.²⁵ His slogan was "kill" and he is believed to have personally erected a monument in Chengtu with the inscription:

²⁴Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 15.

²⁵Arthur W. Hummel, editor, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, (1644-1912) (Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1967), 38. The author of the biography on Chang, Tu Lien-che, notes that Szechwan "endured untold suffering" and "was bled white, both financially and in human lives."

Heaven produces myriads of things to nourish man;
 Man never does one good to recompense Heaven.
 Kill, kill, kill, kill, kill, kill, and kill!²⁶

Chang himself was killed by the Manchus in 1647, but so dastardly was his reign of terror that in 1653 the newly empowered Manchu government offered draft animals and seeds to garrison soldiers and civilians willing to settle in impoverished Szechwan.²⁷ Eighteen years later, in a memorial to the throne, the Governor-General of Szechwan, Hupei and Hunan declared: "There is an abundance of cultivable land in Szechuan but there are not enough people to cultivate it."²⁸ The court reacted with a decree offering five years of tax exemption to new settlers and immediate promotion to local officials and degree holders attracting specific numbers of immigrants.²⁹ Yet, nearly a century later, a Roman Catholic priest could report that despite government concern and concession Szechwan had failed to recover from the ravages of Chang.³⁰

²⁶Dun J. Li, The Ageless Chinese A History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), 300.

²⁷Ping-ti Ho, Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 139. The Manchus gained control of Szechwan by the end of 1650.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid. When Wu San-kuei revolted in 1673, Szechwan temporarily fell into the hands of the San Fan rebels. Wu died in 1678 and within the next three years the Manchus regained their lost territories including Szechwan. See Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957), 313.

³⁰C.P. Fitzgerald, China A Short Cultural History (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), 550.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Szechwan witnessed the influx of droves of immigrants and saw its population jump from a little more than eight million in 1786 to some forty-four million by 1850.³¹ Drawn to Szechwan by official pressure, the availability of fertile land, famine and over-population in their native provinces, immigrants came in considerable numbers from all Chinese provinces south of the Yellow River except Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi.³² Large-scale immigration to Szechwan was halted, however, in the aftermath of the T'aiping Rebellion. With Manchu control along the Yangtze once again restored, surplus populations turned to the ravaged but fertile lands formerly part of the T'aiping kingdoms.

³¹Ping-ti Ho, Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953, 142. This influx into Szechwan was not without the problems that often characterized the movement of poor peasants. In Hupei, Shensi and Szechwan, a very anti-Manchu rebellion, the White Lotus Rebellion, broke out in 1796. Discontent, largely the result of excess exactions by petty officials, was quelled by 1804 through a policy of extermination of the leaders and conciliation of the followers.

³²In his seventh chapter, "The Population-Land Relation: Interregional Migrations", Ping-ti Ho includes a brief summary on the "geographical composition of the modern Szechuan population" as formulated by Lou Yun-lin, in the Chinese work Ssu-ch'uan. According to Lou, the descendents of the pre-Ch'ing natives are few and concentrated in the extreme southeastern part and the western section of Szechwan; natives of Hupei and Honan pre-dominate in eastern, western and southern Szechwan; peoples from Honan, Anhwei and Kiangsi are concentrated in the southern counties; considerable numbers from Shensi and Kansu are located in the northern section and a few western counties; natives from Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsu and Chekiang lineage live mainly in the cities; Chinese Moslems are scattered throughout the northern and northwestern cities; and descendents of the Manchu

For a large part of the nineteenth century the peoples of Szechwan remained isolated from the many stirring events taking place in other parts of the empire. In their physically beautiful and self-sufficient province, the great numbers of diversified peoples developed a confidence in themselves and their new home. Nevertheless, while many were enterprising and open-minded in their willingness to accept Western technology for irrigation, mining and railway communications, many were also xenophobic in their attitudes towards the Western missionary. In Szechwan, as in the rest of China, success of the Christian gospel was paralleled by sustained and not infrequent violent outbursts of resentment from the local populations.

Christianity and Szechwan

The West China Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada was not the first Christian society to work in Szechwan. As early as the Manchu conquest of China, Jesuit missionaries were working in the areas ravaged by rebellion.³³ By 1756, the Société des Mission-Etrangères reported four thousand Christians despite Emperor Yung-cheng's anti-Christian edict of 1724.³⁴ In turn, these four thousand grew to nearly twenty-five thousand by 1792

garrisons are mainly in the Chengtu area.

³³Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 108.

³⁴Ibid., 173-174.

and to some forty thousand by 1801.³⁵ This Roman Catholic work was paralleled by continuous Christian persecution. An outbreak of the White Lotus Society in 1796 stirred the authorities into visualizing Christian collaboration with the rebellion. New anti-Christian edicts were promulgated in 1805 and 1811, and persecution culminated with the arrest and punishment of some eight hundred Christians in Szechwan in 1815.³⁶ Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic work continued. With the official rescinding of the persecution edicts in 1844 their missions grew in number. In 1887, Hart reported being told by priests in Chungking that over eighty-eight thousand Szechwan Christians were being administered to by three diocesan bishops, ninety-six foreign priests, eighty-six native priests and an unknown number of foreign and Chinese nuns.³⁷

As elsewhere in China, Protestant missionaries lagged behind the penetrations of their Roman Catholic brothers. Several itinerant missionaries including Griffith

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶J.M. de Groot, Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1903), 478-479.

³⁷Virgil C. Hart, Western China A Journey to the Great Buddhist Centre of Mount Omei (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1888), 114-115; Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 327, states that in 1890 there were eighty-three thousand Christians, eighty-two foreign and eighty-six Chinese priests, as compared to some eighty thousand Christians, forty-four foreign and sixty-six native priests in 1870.

John, the master evangelist of the London Missionary Society, visited Szechwan in the late 1860's and early 1870's, but it was not until 1877 that the first permanent Protestant mission was established in the province. In that year the China Inland Mission, a British non-denominational society, opened a mission in Chungking. Four years later their representatives established themselves in Chengtu and in 1887 a third station was undertaken in Paoling-Foo. Their successes, however, were very small. For a decade of involvement, Chungking reported only twenty-three baptisms.³⁸ In Chengtu, the mission could attest to little better results, for after six years only thirty-three communicants and two day-schools with an enrollment of twenty pupils could be counted.³⁹

Five years after the China Inland Mission established itself in Chungking, the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States entered the city. Their work, however, was brought to an abrupt close in 1886 when violent disturbances completely destroyed all mission property. Although V. C. Hart re-established the mission in the following year, expansion was slow, and it was not until 1891 that the society opened a second Szechwan station, in Chengtu. In 1888, a third Protestant organization, the London Missionary Society, undertook Christian work in the populous eastern sector of Szechwan between Wanh sien and Chungking.

³⁸Hart, Western China..., 289.

³⁹Ibid., 290

The following year, two societies, the American Baptist Missionary Union and the Friends Foreign Mission Association of Great Britain, established themselves in Chungking. In the late 1880's, two women representing the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society were working in Mienchow; and in 1891, an Anglican body, the Church Missionary Society, began evangelization in the "empire province".

The Canadian mission arrived in Chengtu in the spring of 1892 to find the Protestant missions still very much in the embryo stage of development. The oldest and largest, the China Inland Mission, grew very slowly and the various other bodies were in the process of doing little more than establishing themselves. Even the growth of the Roman Catholic missions was stymied. Hart's statistic of eighty-eight thousand Christians represents a growth of little more than eight thousand since 1870 despite a doubling in the total number of foreign and native priests. In a large part the slow progress of Christianity may be attributed to the frequent and occasionally violent outbreaks which plagued both Roman Catholic and Protestant work. In 1865, 1869 and 1873, priests and native converts suffered death at the hands of mobs.⁴⁰ French aggression in Tongking in 1884-1885 openly angered the official classes and not infrequently did placards appear on Szechwan's city walls

⁴⁰ Hosea B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire (3 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1918), vol. 2, 233; Henri Cordier, Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec Les Puissances Occidentales, 1860-1902, (3 vols, Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere et C', 1902), vol. 2, 32-33.

threatening Christians with total extermination.⁴¹ If opposition from the indigenous population was not enough, Roman Catholic-Protestant rivalry was also present. Roman Catholics blamed the Protestants and Protestants blamed the Roman Catholics for instigating the Chungking riots in 1886 although both suffered considerably from the damage caused by the outburst.⁴² Disputes between Chinese Christians and Chinese non-Christians also aggravated and intensified existing xenophobia. In 1886, a lawsuit between two Chinese was executed in favor of the Chinese Christian. In reaction the son of the non-Christian, believing that Roman Catholic intervention influenced the decision, raised a small army against the Christians but met a premature death in an ambush prepared by the authorities. His father, Yu Man-tzu, became an implacable enemy of the Roman Catholics and over the next ten years is believed to have destroyed some four million dollars of Catholic property and to have left some twenty thousand Chinese Christians homeless.⁴³

The West China Mission was to experience similar growing pains. It was not to escape opposition from many Chinese and was in actuality to wait some four long years before administering baptism!

⁴¹Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 354; Hart, Western China..., 293-94.

⁴²Ibid., 287 and 293-94; Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 354.

⁴³Ibid., 355.

The philosophy of the Canadian West China Mission

In Canada the General Board of the Methodist Church lacked direct knowledge of mission conditions in China. While it formulated several general resolutions for the administration of its mission it prepared no specific guidelines for its missionaries. For the greatest part the administrative policy of the West China Mission was governed by its initial superintendent, Virgil C. Hart, the sole member of the pioneer Canadian body imbued with direct knowledge of Christian difficulties in China.

Hart viewed Szechwan as a "wonderland" in which more "than an eighth of China's population were engaged in the peaceful pursuits of civilized life."⁴⁴ This "wonderland", however, was handicapped by the existence of several "hoary customs and institutions."⁴⁵ Included among these "evils" were female foot-binding, infanticide, slavery and opium addiction. It was to be the responsibility of the Canadian Mission to work towards the eradication of these "evils". At home the Canadian Church was not tardy in applying international pressure against Great Britain's involvement in the opium trade. Several days prior to the departure of its pioneer body for China the Missionary Society formulated a resolution exhorting the British government to unhesitatingly rescind all articles within its trade regulations protecting

⁴⁴Hart, Western China...., 296-297.

⁴⁵Ibid., 297.

and fostering the continuance of the opium trade.⁴⁶

Although the Canadian Methodist Mission felt itself responsible for the bringing of a "new and better" civilization to the Chinese, the mission did not wish to assume a position of authority over the indigenous Chinese.⁴⁷

Rather, the Canadian body was organized to assume a lead in establishing institutions for the Chinese so that the Chinese might extricate themselves from the "evils" of their society. The Canadian Methodist Mission hoped to coordinate Christian activities for the germination of institutions which were to be taken up, recast and further developed by the Chinese themselves. In this respect the decision by only a few Protestant missions, following several decades of actual experience in China, to foster a Chinese Christian Church was immediately assumed by the Canadian Methodist Mission as one of its objectives. "The grand idea is to give light, give life", writes Hart, "and as quickly as possible."⁴⁸

The traditional approach in evangelization for the Protestant missions was to locate chapels, residences and dispensaries in the heart of busy cities. There the missions could procure attention from the masses of people traversing

⁴⁶Methodist Missionary Society-General Board, Board Minutes 1884 to 1892, 295-296, (Meeting of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, St. John, September, 1891).

⁴⁷Hart, Western China..., 299-300.

⁴⁸Ibid., 300.

the busy avenues of communication. The Canadian society was to follow their Protestant brothers in this approach but were to differ from the older and larger Protestant missions in one important aspect. The Canadian mission was restricted by a lack of surplus funds and could not look forward to operating in a variety of provinces or even a variety of areas within one province. Instead the Canadians anticipated opening several central mission stations within a smaller and more compact area. From these stations itinerant missionaries were to administer to the needs of the populations living within an accessible environ. Medical missionaries fostering dispensaries and hospitals were to become an important element within these mission stations. The pioneer body of Canadian Methodists established an important precedent. It contained two evangelists and two doctors and this balancing of evangelists with medical missionaries was to be continued throughout the first decade in the history of the mission. Initially educational institutions followed evangelistic and medical institutions on the list of facilities deemed necessary by Hart. By 1911, however, educational facilities were to be of utmost importance to the Canadian body. The first superintendent of the Canadian mission also acknowledged the reverence with which the peoples of China viewed the printed word and anticipated establishing a printing press for the production of religious literature.

In respect to the qualifications demanded of the

candidates chosen for mission work, Hart believed they should be judged on a standard "as high for China as for the first-class pulpits in America or England."⁴⁹ He was very much concerned over the strength of Chinese culture and the knowledge of the literati class. It was essential that the Canadian missionaries be intelligent men capable of winning the respect of the literati and with the ability to comprehend the meaning of the Chinese language, literature and philosophy. Throughout its history only a very few representatives of the Canadian Methodist Mission held less than one university degree.

Uprooted from their homes by the desire to spread Christianity and the values of Western civilization the small pioneer body of Canadian Methodists ventured towards the world's largest and oldest national entity. With intense devotion to a cause beyond this world they were to meet frustration and sorrow in the face of seemingly unreasonable resistance. Few Chinese welcomed them and few Chinese aided them. Instead great numbers banded together in opposition and within four years destroyed the results of their work. Not only was their work destroyed but they were forced to flee for the safety of their lives, lives dedicated to the "saving" of these same assailants.

⁴⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMATIVE YEARS 1891-1895

On November 3, 1891, one month less a day after their departure from Vancouver, the small group of Canadian Methodists sailed into the estuary of the Yangtze River. In Shanghai they learned that severe anti-foreign disturbances had broken out along the Yangtze above Nanking.⁵⁰ They were advised to remain in the city until the disturbances subsided. While they waited, they spent their time learning Chinese and visiting missionary institutions. During the several months they spent in Shanghai Dr. David Stevenson married Miss Amelia Brown.

By February of 1892 the situation along the Yangtze was deemed safe for travel and on the sixteenth of that month seven of the nine Canadian missionaries (Mrs. Hart and her daughter remained in Shanghai) embarked for Ichang, the western terminal for steam navigation on the Yangtze

⁵⁰For a description of the situation along the Yangtze in 1891 see "The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in 1891. With an Appendix". North China Herald, 1892; and Edmund S. Wehrle, Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), Chapter II.

River, nearly one thousand miles by water from Shanghai.⁵¹ At Ichang they transferred five tons of effects onto two houseboats for the remaining thousand miles of their journey. On May 21, 1892, more than three months after leaving Shanghai, they received their first glimpses of Chengtu.

Once the capital city of the ancient Kingdom of Shuh, Chengtu was now the political capital of Szechwan and as such functioned as a political, commercial, educational and religious center.⁵² It was a walled city of twelve miles in circumference and had a population close to five hundred thousand.⁵³ Situated little more than one hundred miles to the north of the great Buddhist shrine of Mt. Omei, the city was already a center for Christian activity. A Roman Catholic mission had established itself in Chengtu two centuries before the arrival of the Canadians. The first Protestant body, the China Inland Mission, arrived in 1887. Four years later the Methodist Episcopal Church opened a mission and in early 1892 the Church

⁵¹See Map I for the route followed. Mrs. Hart was not fully recovered from a fall.

⁵²Marco Polo described Chengtu in glowing terms under the name Sindafu. The Rev. C. Leaman, an itinerate missionary on a tour of Szechwan in 1878 described Chengtu as "by far the nicest city I have ever seen in China, and this on account of its wide, clean and well paved streets." For Leaman's account see The Chinese Recorder, vol. 9, (1878), 88.

⁵³See Maps II and III for maps of Szechwan; and Map V for a map of Chengtu.

Missionary Society set up temporary representation in the city.

Upon their arrival the Canadian missionaries accepted the hospitality of Hart's old friend, Rev. Olin Cady, the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and moved into his mission quarters until they could obtain residences of their own.⁵⁴ Two weeks of searching and frustration in the face of numerous refusals eventually led them to secure

⁵⁴The Tientsin treaties contain no provisions permitting missionaries the right to reside permanently and hold property in the interior of China. In common with all aliens, the missionaries were granted travel rights within and beyond one hundred li of the treaty ports. However, Article VI of the Chinese version of the French Convention of 1860, after noting that the Imperial Edict of 1846 must be promulgated throughout the empire, adds, "It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the Provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." The French version, the authoritative version in case of conflict, was silent on this point. Neither the French government or any other of the treaty powers demanded Chinese acknowledgment of the concession. Its inclusion in the Chinese treaty, nevertheless, did stimulate negotiations and in the Berthemy Convention of 1865 French missionaries were permitted to hold property in the interior. Although the text of this Convention was never published, Protestant missions automatically invoked the most-favored-nation clause and began penetrating the empire in search of more than converts. It was not until 1903 that Protestant missions were given the legal right to hold property in the interior. Prior to 1896, the American and British consuls viewed Protestant holdings in the interior as being without positive legal sanction. On September 20, 1870, Sir Thomas Wade, the British minister in Peking said that under the treaty rights the British missionaries had no more right to settle in the interior of China and hold land outside of the treaty ports than did other British citizens. In 1888, the American minister in Peking, Colonel Denby, indicated that Americans settling in the interior must understand that they do so without any such treaty right. See Chao Kwang Wu, The International Aspects of the Missionary Movement in China, 26-27.

the sole house available to foreigners, one believed to be haunted! The commodious compound, containing accommodations for five missionaries, a dispensary, wards large enough for ten people, a literature room, a chapel and quarters for several servants was "rented" in the northeast corner of the city on U Shia Kiai (Pearly Sand Street). Stevenson and his wife temporarily remained in the Methodist Episcopal Mission. With these quarters secured Hart returned to Shanghai in early July to escort his wife and daughter upriver.

In his absence the other missionaries anticipated spending the remainder of the summer in language study, but scarcely two weeks had past when tragedy struck. In mid July, Mrs. O. L. Kilborn died from cholera. The daughter of a Queen's University professor and a graduate of that university herself, she was one of thirty thousand to die from the epidemic in Chengtu.⁵⁵

In view of the raging epidemic the remaining five Canadians retired to the mountains forty-five miles away and rented a Taoist temple outside the market town of Yu-Chi. Their month and a half long stay in the temple retreat was marred by an incident which greatly impressed upon them the religious behavior of the indigenous population. Two weeks after their arrival a violent storm drove water, earth, trees and rocks into the city below. With roads and

⁵⁵Report of V.C. Hart in The Seventieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1893-94, (hereafter 70th AR 1893-94), (Toronto: At The Methodist Mission Rooms, 1894), xxx.

bridges swept away the people of Yu-Chi correlated the presence of the foreigners with the desecration of the grounds ruled by a local god and soon clamoured for the departure of the missionaries. Nervously awaiting the arrival of the angered people of Yu-Chi, the Canadians were startled by the arrival of four missionaries representing the China Inland Mission in flight from Sungpan, a city four hundred miles away near the Tibetan border. In Sungpan a drought rather than a flood resulted in the local population driving out the suspected foreigner. The tense situation in Yu-Chi was appeased, however, when the townsmen were given a "liberal subscription" by the missionaries.⁵⁶ The people of Yu-Chi thereafter became quite friendly and the remainder of the summer was spent without incident.⁵⁷ In early September the small body returned to Chengtu and began organizing their future work.

Departmental work: evangelical, educational, medical

The three years from 1892 to 1895 were "seed sowing" years during which the Canadian West China Mission attempted to lay the basis for its future expansion. The difficulty of working with a strange language within a civilization very different from that found in Canada and the time con-

⁵⁶The Chinese Recorder, vol. XXIII (1892), 487-488; Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 31.

⁵⁷Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 48. The Canadians practiced their faith amid the presence of Taoist priests performing their daily rituals and administered medical treatment to over one hundred Chinese.

suming tasks surrounding the building of mission premises and the opening of two missions did not allow the Canadian mission to make great inroads among the peoples of Szechwan. Yet, if numerical statistics did not provide glowing "advances" for the people in Canada the small numbers of Chinese becoming familiar with the mission did provide reason for enthusiasm and anticipation of success in the future.

Hart returned to Chengtu in the fall of 1892 and immediately set out in search of another mission compound. The U Shia Kiai compound had lacked sufficient housing accommodations from the outset and the space taken up by a dispensary and bookroom opened during Hart's absence clearly revealed the need for larger premises. Through negotiations with middlemen the superintendent succeeded in obtaining an "eternal lease", in effect a purchase, on a three acre field belonging to a Taoist priest, and immediately began the construction of what was to have been the first foreign designed building in the city.⁵⁸ But, with the building's foundation set and the framework ready to be erected, all construction came to an abrupt end when a mob destroyed the material for the house.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁸Neither Hart, his biographers, the writings of the pioneer missionaries, or the Annual Reports of the missionaries give an explanation as to why Hart wished to construct a foreign designed building in Chengtu. It is this researcher's unsubstantiated opinion that Hart felt there was no better way of publicizing the Canadian mission.

⁵⁹The Taoist priest was so friendly to the mission

Canadian mission was persuaded to re-locate with full indemnity paid by the local officials and were advised by them not to construct foreign designed buildings in the city.⁶⁰ With the aid of an official Hart came into possession of a retired magistrate's property on Sz Shen Tsz Kiai (Street of the Four Holy Sages), a short distance away from the East Military Parade Ground.⁶¹ The native styled buildings within the compound were transformed into three dwellings and two school buildings.

The building expansion of the mission did not end with the acquisition of the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai property. During the summer of 1893 Hart received a contribution of \$1000 from a Nova-Scotian friend and in November construction began on a chapel and bookroom on the newly acquired compound.⁶² The chapel, large enough to hold three hundred people, was opened in February of 1894. Two smaller compounds adjacent to this compound were then purchased and

that he permitted the carpenters to use his nearby temple as a workshop. The construction of the house attracted a great deal of attention from the Chinese. Rumor had it that the missionaries were building a fort and soon an estimated three thousand visitors a day came to watch the construction. George Hartwell speculated that the destruction of the house was precipitated by the accidental death of a Chinese pilfering for firewood on the mission property. See Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 39-40; and Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 52-53.

⁶⁰Report of V.C. Hart in 69th AR 1892-93, xxxii.

⁶¹See Map V.

⁶²The donar, Jairus Hart, was not a relative of V.C. Hart.

work was begun on an eighty bed hospital in March.⁶³

Three departments of work, evangelical, educational, and medical, were undertaken by the Canadian mission. Of these, none was as severely restricted by the inability of the missionaries to speak Chinese as that of evangelism. To preach and to make oneself understood was a difficult task facing all of the missionaries except Hart. Nevertheless, under his direction, the mission began holding Sunday services in the fall of 1892 and on December 5 the first Sunday school was conducted with some eighty Chinese in attendance.⁶⁴ For the most part the chapel on the U Shia Kiai compound received the attention of few Chinese except those directly associated with the work of the mission, i.e. native assistants and those Chinese receiving medical attention or some other form of aid from the Canadian West China Mission.

The numbers of people attracted to the church services increased when the chapel on the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound was opened in 1894. In that same year, the missionaries began to report that capacity crowds were often attending the meetings held in both chapels.⁶⁵ It was not

⁶³Report of D.W. Stevenson in 70th AR 1893-94, xi.

⁶⁴G.J. Bond, Our Share in China and What We are Doing with It (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), 52.

⁶⁵Reports of V.C. Hart and G.E. Hartwell in 70th AR 1893-94, xxxi and xxxiii respectively.

until late in 1893 that George Hartwell felt sufficiently advanced in Chinese to aid Hart with evangelical work. When he did, the number and nature of the services offered in the chapels were enlarged beyond the regular Sunday ones. With Hartwell actively engaged in evangelical work a typical weekly schedule of events for the chapels included the teaching of geography and astronomy to adults on Monday evening, a service for the sick on Wednesday, a singing meeting for both children and adults on Friday evening, and the regular services and schools for all members of the family on Sunday.⁶⁶

While the missionaries indicated satisfaction with the reception gained by the chapels they indicated greater enthusiasm over the acceptance received by their bookrooms. In November, 1892, a reading room stocked with maps, charts and a variety of Christian literature was opened on the compound premises. A non-Christian Chinese was employed as its first curator and as George Hartwell explained in his annual report for 1892-93 its success was immediate:

Thousands of people have visited this room. To study the map of the world is itself an education to a people who believe China is the centre of not only the earth, but the universe, as many have believed that the planets revolve around the earth. Nicely dressed people often sit for hours reading the books and tracts.... This room has also done much to remove suspicion. The Chinese are inquisitive, they want to know all about the foreigner, how many there are, what their names are, where they are from and what they are doing. Our good-natured book-man

⁶⁶Ibid., xxxiii.

patiently answers these questions, explains our object in coming, and sells the books and tracts. Over two thousand books, tracts and calendars have been sold this year.⁶⁷

Shortly after the missionaries moved into their property on Sz Shen Tsz Kiai a small shop was rented near the East Gate of the city and a street chapel modeled on the U Shia Kiai bookroom was opened. Instead of utilizing the chapel for evangelistic purposes they established a reading room and transferred the bookman employed in the U Shia Kiai bookroom to the street-side shop as its curator. Here the Chinese could freely wander in, read or enquire from a Chinese bookman without anxiety over the presence of foreign evangelists. Hartwell again noted great enthusiasm on the part of the Chinese and noted that the curator was frequently questioned as to why preaching had not begun in the shop.⁶⁸

Although the Canadian chapels were often filled and inquisitive Chinese might enquire when preaching would begin in the bookrooms, the mission administered baptism to no Chinese during the years prior to 1896. Understaffed and almost totally involved with the physical plant of the mission the evangelists had little opportunity to become

⁶⁷Report of G.E. Hartwell in 69th AR 1892-93, xxxiv.

⁶⁸Report of G.E. Hartwell in 70th AR 1893-94, xxxv. The chapel was located in an area of the city where the people had no close relationship with any mission. The Canadians feared that their presence might provoke criticism from the people. To avoid this they set up a bookroom and did not use the shop for evangelistic purposes.

intinerant missionaries in either the whole of the city or the countryside.

From the date of their arrival in Szechwan the immense possibility for Christian work within that province had impressed upon the pioneer missionaries the need for more men and in the fall of 1892 an appeal was sent to the home church for twenty-five additional workers by 1900.⁶⁹ Although the Methodist society in Canada was pleased to receive such favorable reports from China it cautioned against rapid growth. In a letter to Hart, the General Secretary, Alexander Sutherland indicated "that in view of the strong tendency among the Chinese to suspect foreigners of some sinister designs" it would probably be wise on the part of the mission to allow the Chinese time to familiarize themselves with the institutions established by the mission.⁷⁰ The General Board of the Church did, however, consent to send two missionaries. In September, 1893, Rev. James and Mrs. Endicott and Dr. H.M. Hare arrived in Shanghai and found two representatives of the Woman's Missionary Society, Dr. Retta Gifford and Miss Sara Brackbill awaiting an escort upriver. O.L. Kilborn arrived from Szechwan and after a hazardous journey the missionaries reached Chengtu in early March, 1894.

⁶⁹Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 54.

⁷⁰The Archives of the United Church of Canada, West China Mission, (hereafter AUCC:WCM), Box 2, Folder 27, Sutherland to Hart, 8 July 1893.

Later in March the first Annual Council of the West China Mission was convened.⁷¹ With Endicott and Hare, three evangelists and three doctors were present to answer the roll call. The Council, satisfied with the progress in Chengtu and impatient to open a new mission station, passed a resolution for the opening of work in Kiating, one hundred and twenty miles to the south of Chengtu. Kilborn was appointed to begin the work. Negotiations with the General Board were in progress and as with the West China Mission's earlier request for additional missionaries the Board advised against hurried expansion.⁷² Canada, in 1894, was in the throes of a depression and the Board felt unable to sanction the opening of a second mission station. However, the letter setting forth the home church's position on the request from Szechwan was not sent from Toronto until March 17, 1894. It arrived in Chengtu nearly three months later, and several weeks after Kilborn and his newly acquired bride, the former Dr. Retta Gifford, had taken up residence in Kiating.⁷³ They became the only doctors in this busy city

⁷¹A general meeting of the missionaries was held in the spring of 1893, but without a necessary disciplinary quorum of five it was not to be considered as the "first" Annual Council.

⁷²AUCC:WCM, Box 2, Folder 27, Sutherland to Hart, 17 March 1894.

⁷³Mail deliveries took nearly three months between Canada and Szechwan. In view of this time gap the missionaries often made important policy decisions by themselves.

located near Mt. Omei.⁷⁴

Canadian evangelical work was less successful in Kiating than in Chengtu. The Kilborns were doctors and they found themselves spending the large majority of their time in medical work. As a result evangelism suffered. The second Annual Council, in April, 1895, recalled the Kilborns to Chengtu and transferred two evangelists, Hart and Endicott, and a doctor, Hare, to Kiating. They were little more than settled in Kiating, however, when anti-foreign hostilities burst out throughout the province and forced the evacuation of all the Canadians from Szechwan.

In education, as in evangelism, the missionaries found their work restricted by a small staff and insufficient knowledge of the language. But, unlike the evangelistic work where few Christian Chinese were present to share the load of the Canadians, in the field of education Chinese teachers could be employed as teachers in the mission schools. On February 22, 1893, Hart fostered the opening of a school offering geography, mathematics, character study and religious instruction. With Hartwell still in language study, Hart's daughter aided him as a teacher and a Chinese teacher was offered employment on the condition that he secure fifteen students. He very easily fulfilled his quota and within a month the school

⁷⁴Kilborn had difficulties securing living quarters in conservative Kiating. He visited the city in March and it took five weeks before he was able to rent a compound large enough for two families.

had an enrolment of forty students. The total enrolment for the first four months of the school was forty-four, twelve of which were girls.⁷⁵ The pupils came from poor families "kindly disposed" to the mission and no fees were charged the parents.

In early 1894 four more teachers, three men and one woman, were offered positions in the Canadian schools on the basis that each secure twenty pupils. The annual report of George Hartwell for 1893-94 indicated that over one hundred students were registered in five mission schools: three under the supervision of Hartwell in the U Shia Kiai compound and two under the care of Hart in the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai mission.⁷⁶ Of these students, thirty were girls.

These statistics fostered an enthusiasm on the part of the mission for education. Hart became increasingly impressed by the viable role which the schools could play:

I am more and more convinced that the missionary's work is to be largely with the children.... To illustrate the importance of this kind of work: While I pen these lines, a dozen Chinese ladies and small girls are calling upon Mrs. Hart and my daughter, who would scarcely venture if this school was not here. We not only reach the ears of the children in the school, but everything said is retailed to their parents, brothers and sisters. In the next reinforcement to this mission, there should be one man sent to take full charge of the educational interests.⁷⁷

Moreover, these schools provided an excellent opportunity

⁷⁵Report of V.C. Hart in 69th AR 1892-93, xxxii.

⁷⁶Report of G.E. Hartwell in 70th AR 1893-94, xxxiv.

⁷⁷Report of V.C. Hart in 69th AR 1892-93, xxxii.

for the mission to educate and train young men and women for a native ministry. As long as the teachers were non-Christian the missionaries were compelled to spend one to two hours daily in the teaching of religion. With a native ministry providing Christian teachers the missionaries would be free to carry on other aspects of Christian work. In 1894 two boys were taken into the Hartwell home and were being trained as the hopeful "nucleus" of a native Christian church.⁷⁸

From the date of the Canadian arrival in Chengtu the medical missionaries were to attract greater attention from the Chinese than the evangelists. Language did not restrict medical work to the same degree that it restricted evangelical and educational work and the two doctors, Stevenson and Kilborn, lost little time in establishing their practices. Stevenson treated his first patient three days after his arrival in Chengtu; and a year to the day after the arrival of the Canadians in China their first dispensary was opened.

Although the large number of patients visiting the dispensary temporarily forced its closing on all but one day per week, to enable the doctors to continue their language studies, Stevenson and Kilborn denied medical treatment to no one. In his annual report for 1893-94, Stevenson

⁷⁸ I have not been able to find sufficient proof indicating if they were orphans or boarders. They were, however, being supported by a Canadian minister called Lucas.

indicated that the average attendance for the weekly dispensing day was fifty and that on any other day he saw upwards of a dozen patients.⁷⁹ Diseases that could be cured with a simple drug or a minor operation counted for the largest number of the cases diagnosed.

Upon the arrival of the new missionaries in 1894 the number of doctors associated with the Canadian mission doubled. With Kilborn and Stevenson well advanced in their language study and Hare and Gifford willing to spend partial moments in daily treatment of patients the Canadian mission could have made great inroads among the people of Chengtu. Unfortunately the hospital begun in 1893 was not yet completed. As a result of this scarcity of medical facilities and the second Annual Council's desire to open a new mission, the Kilborns were appointed to Kiating.

In both Chengtu and Kiating the medical missionaries approached their work with a dual purpose and responsibility. They believed they could be evangelists as they were doctors; they believed they could save souls as they saved bodies. It was, however, as medical missionaries rather than evangelists that attention and gratitude came their way. As doctors they could perform "miraculous cures", for example, the removal of a cataract often restored sight, but as evangelists they could offer little more than advice. As doctors they received respect, as evangelists they received notice because they were doctors.

⁷⁹Report of D.W. Stevenson in 70th AR 1893-94, xxxviii.

In both cities large numbers of people from both the poor and wealthy classes began taking advantage of the inexpensive medical services. In Kiating, the Kilborns reported that some three hundred people per week were visiting the dispensary.⁸⁰ In Chengtu, a new dispensary and two wards opened in late 1894 were soon "crowded with people".⁸¹ The fees assessed ranged in value according to the wealth of the patient. They were, in fact, of little importance to the mission. The payment most eagerly sought by the doctors was recognition by the patient of the work performed. Recognition from the brother of the Chengtu magistrate for succeeding where Chinese doctors had failed in the treatment of his wife, and public acclaim from a poor man after a minor operation meant more than financial compensation to the Canadians.⁸²

The Chengtu Riots: reaction, destruction and evacuation

The eagerness of Canadian medical missionaries to bring relief often led them to treat patients beyond the stage of recovery. The death of a Chinese woman attended to by a Canadian doctor acted as a spark for a month of anti-foreign animosities which culminated in the Chengtu riots of 1895: riots which leveled mission property in many parts

⁸⁰Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 58.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Report of D.W. Stevenson in 70th AR 1893-94,
xxxix.

of Szechwan, gave new impetus to the demands of Western civilians in China for a revision of the treaty provisions dealing with their status beyond the treaty ports, and resulted in three foreign powers exercising uncompromising pressure on a government recently humbled by the tiny nation of Japan.

Early in the evening of April 26, 1895, Dr. H. M. Hare visited the home of a man called Chwang and found the man's wife critically ill.⁸³ On the completion of his treatment Hare returned to the Canadian mission. Near midnight he received an urgent appeal from Chwang saying that his wife "had not spoken for quite a while". Hare immediately went to the sick woman's home with his dispenser and language teacher and on close examination of the woman found her to be dead. On being told of Hare's diagnosis Chwang's demeanor changed from politeness to hostility and he refused to permit Hare to leave the house. Getting angry, Hare was on the verge of giving the defiant man a shaking when the dispenser intervened and convinced Chwang to open the door. As Hare entered the street Chwang began yelling and took hold of him. A crowd gathered and as Hare and Chwang started to struggle he began to shriek, "Strike the foreigner", "Kill the foreigner"! Hare succeeded in breaking

⁸³This account is from Hare's description of the events of that evening, as quoted in Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 265-269; another similar account by O.L. Kilborn may be found in the North China Herald, June 28, 1895, 1008.

loose and reached the safety of his compound with the crowd in hot pursuit.

The following morning Hart informed the local hsien yamen of the events of the previous night and Chwang was arrested. He was not arrested, however, until considerable damage had been done to the image of the Canadian mission. Rumors were circulated throughout the city that a foreign doctor had poisoned a Chinese woman for some sinister purpose; and her naked body was exposed in front of Chwang's house for "all" to gaze upon the evil work of the missionary.⁸⁴

From April 26 to May 28, the afternoon of which rioting broke out, an anti-foreign feeling began to mature in the city. The failure of nature was also present to intensify the publicity given Chwang's wife. Below average spring rains and above average May temperatures fostered fear among a large segment of the population that the irrigation systems were on the verge of drying up. In connection with this was the advice given by a talking cow when asked about the dry weather, "This year cannot be called dry, next year will be dryer than this, and on the following year the foreigners will come and take Szechuen."⁸⁵ The foreigners also apparently attempted to steal

⁸⁴Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 269.

⁸⁵Alfred Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots (Shanghai: "Shanghai Mercury" Office, 1895), xii. From an account by J.F. Peat of the Methodist Episcopal Mission.

a stone containing precious minerals but were stopped by "honest" people living near the East Gate of the city.⁸⁶

Throughout the month of May increasing numbers of people began to demand that something be done to appease the gods responsible for famine.⁸⁷ In fear of possible anti-foreign violence the various missions appealed to the officials for proclamations condemning the continued spread of such talk. Little apparently was done to allay the situation and on the morning of May 28 placards announcing that a "Servant Li" had personally observed "foreign barbarians" extracting oil from kidnapped children appeared on the streets of Chengtu.⁸⁸ The posters went on to caution the "good people" not to allow their children "to go out".

The people of Chengtu were not to remain indoors on May 28, 1895, for it was the holiday of the Dragon Boat Festival. The day was highlighted by a local custom of "plum-eating" and "plum-throwing" and an estimated sixty thousand people turned out for the festivities held on the East Military Parade Ground.⁸⁹ Late in the afternoon the events leading directly to the riots took place.

⁸⁶Ibid., xi.

⁸⁷Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 47.

⁸⁸Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, see Placard No. 1, xxx; also see the account by Dr. H.L. Canright of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, xviii.

⁸⁹Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 47; see Map V and Figure 1 for the position of the Canadian compounds in relation to the East Military Parade Ground.

According to a Chinese newspaper account⁹⁰ an unidentified Canadian missionary appeared on the parade grounds at about 4:00 p.m. to watch the children throw plums. In their excitement several threw plums in the direction of the missionary and he was struck in the forehead. The missionary grew angry and seized a ten year old boy. Crowds immediately gathered and reacted to the missionary's actions by yelling "the foreigner has kidnapped him". They soon broke into a chant "beat the foreigner". The missionary then apparently ran off with the child and locked him in the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound. (see Figure 1, compound No. 1) The crowd followed and three of their number demanded admission to the compound in hopes of securing the boy. Once inside the three men were seized by the Canadians, chloroformed and hung upside down in trees. The crowd now demanded both the return of the boy and the three men. This further angered the missionaries and one of them ran onto the street with a gun and fired two shots. The district magistrate then appeared and he was turned on by a missionary demanding a thousand taels ransom for his hostages. Two prefects then arrived with the chief of police. They were met by the missionaries with threats of death if the compensation demanded was not immediately forthcoming. Seeing their officials insulted and "suffering for the sake of the people", the crowds went into a rampage

⁹⁰From a translation of the article in Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, 36-37. The article was in the newspaper Hsin-wen-pao.

The Canadian compounds on Sz Shen Tsz Kiai

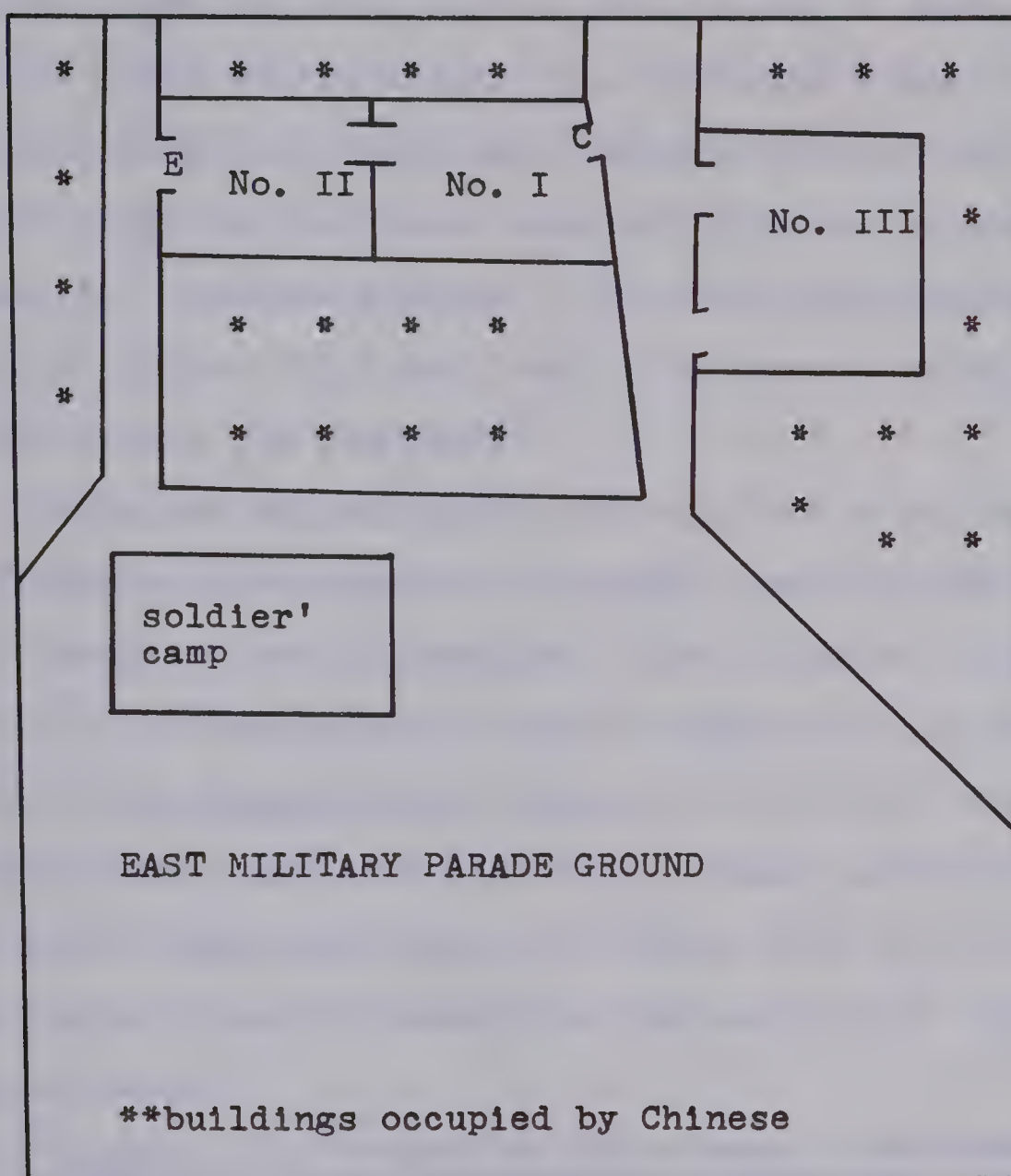


Figure 1. Based on a sketch by George Hartwell in Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, ix.

- No. I The main Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound; contained dwellings for three families, two schools and a chapel; at the time of the riots it housed the Kilborns and Stevensons.
- No. II Was obtained in 1894; adjoined No. I; contained a dispensary and two wards.
- No. III Was moved into only two weeks prior to the riots, by the Hartwells; also held several classrooms.

and began to break, pillage and burn. In the compound they found the three men hung upside down, bones of dead men and traces of blood on the walls. The officials tried to restrain the people but they were "wrought to the highest pitch of fury" and destroyed some ten missions in and out of the city. Another account in the same paper added that a heavily drugged child was found lying barely alive in an iron box within the compound.⁹¹

It is not surprising to note that the accounts by the three Canadian missionaries in Chengtu, George Hartwell, Omar Kilborn and David Stevenson, differ from the Chinese version.⁹² Kilborn recalled that he, Hartwell and Stevenson were in the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound with a Mr. Jackson of the Church Missionary Society when a message arrived from the Methodist Episcopal Mission at about 5:00 p.m. telling of the posted placards concerning "Servant Li".⁹³ With the

⁹¹Ibid., 37; Viceroy Liu Ping-chang of Szechwan and a Roman Catholic priest, Pontvianne, agreed that a Canadian missionary arrived on the parade grounds at about 4:00 p.m. They also noted that just the sight of a Canadian missionary at the festival was sufficient reason to enrage the crowd. See Irwin Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895): Myths and Politics". Papers on China: From Seminars at Harvard University, vol. 18, (December, 1964), 30 and 50.

⁹²V.C. Hart, J. Endicott and H.M. Hare were in Kiating. For accounts of the events of May 28 by George Hartwell see Granary of Heaven, 47-52; and Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, vii-xi. For an account by O.L. Kilborn see Cunningham, xxiii-xxviii. An account by James Endicott can be found in The Chinese Recorder, vol. 26, (1895), 391-393. See also the North China Herald, July 26, 1895, 153-154.

⁹³This account is from a statement issued by O.L. Kilborn on July 11, 1895. See Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, xxiii-xxvi.

Viceroy in the city and soldiers barracked on the East Military Parade Ground, the four missionaries agreed that there was little need for anxiety and Hartwell returned to his compound (Figure 1, No. 111). Several minutes later yelling was heard in the street outside the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound and some stones came sailing over its street-side wall. Kilborn immediately dispatched messengers to the local yamen and sent the wives and children into the adjacent compound containing the hospital (No. 11). Shortly afterwards the gates to the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound (C) came crashing down. Kilborn and Stevenson then emerged from their quarters and fired four rifle shots before running out onto the street. The fast growing crowd dispersed and stood at a distance of some thirty to forty yards. A dozen of their number stepped out and began exhorting the whole of the crowd to go home. A few minutes later, three soldiers appeared and joined the dozen men but their pleas fell on deaf ears. The missionaries confronted the crowd for three-quarters of an hour before the messengers returned from the yamen with news that aid would soon be coming. Kilborn and Stevenson requested the messengers to return to the yamen with another appeal for aid but they refused. Instead, the messengers volunteered to scatter the crowd if the missionaries left the street. The Canadians agreed. Scarcely were they off the street, however, when yelling and stone throwing began anew. Kilborn and Stevenson reacted by firing "a shot or two" and retreated into the hospital compound to join

their families. The crowd immediately filled the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound and the missionaries and their families fled in the darkness towards the parade ground in anticipation of receiving protection from the soldiers. Instead of protection, however, they found themselves met by curses and abusive language. Repulsed, the group of three men, two women, and four children made their way to the city wall and a little past midnight reached temporary safety in the China Inland Mission.

The other Canadian, George Hartwell, and his family occupied a newly acquired compound (No. 111) across the street from the Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound.⁹⁴ During the frenzy of the events in the latter he and his family accepted refuge in the home of a neighboring Chinese. There they remained until 4:30 a.m. of the following morning before they returned to their compound and found that it had been ravaged during the night. Fearing for the safety of his family, Hartwell ordered chairs and sent his wife and family to the U Shia Kiai mission. Shortly after their departure pilfering Chinese entered his compound and he fled into the house of another friendly neighbor. He remained hidden until 9:00 p.m., then called for a chair and made his way to the local yamen.

The anti-foreign atmosphere existing in Chengtu on May 28 was further inflamed by the issuance of two official

⁹⁴Ibid., vii-xi. From the statement issued by Hartwell in Shanghai on July 12, 1895.

proclamations on May 29.⁹⁵ In an ambiguously worded document, the Viceroy, Liu Ping-chang, credited the presence of a foreigner at the festival with the resulting troubles.⁹⁵ More emphatic was the proclamation by Chou Chen-Ch'iung, the Chengtu police commissioner:

At the present time we have obtained clear proof that foreigners deceive and kidnap small children. You soldiers and people must not be disturbed and excited. When the cases are brought before us we certainly will not be lenient with them.⁹⁶

These proclamations did not lessen the riotous mood of the people of Chengtu. Destruction and pillaging continued with added force on May 29 until by the evening of that day every building leased or rented by the foreigners in the city, except the Canadian bookshop near the East Gate, was sacked and greatly damaged.

Surprisingly, the life of no missionary was lost during these two days of havoc. The American Methodist Episcopal Church mission received news of the plight of the Canadian mission at 11:00 p.m. on May 28 and immediately appealed to the Taotai of Foreign Affairs and the local Chengtu hsien yamen for aid.⁹⁷ Both refused. The Americans then packed and near daybreak arrived at the Huayang hsien yamen with an appeal for sanctuary. They were turned away with assurances that aid would be forthcoming and returned

⁹⁵Ibid., xxx. See Proclamation No. 3.

⁹⁶Ibid., See Proclamation No. 2.

⁹⁷For two American Methodist accounts see those by J.F. Peat and H.L. Canright in Cunningham, xi-xiv and xviii-xx.

to their mission in the company of a small official escort. A crowd began gathering outside the mission by 9:00 a.m. and a half hour later the mission became their object for destruction. The Americans, six adults and four children, scaled the compound wall and concealed themselves for the remainder of the day in a "dirty hot loft". Relief finally came when chairs arrived near midnight and carried them to the Huayang yamen. Similar attacks were also made on the Canadian U Shia Kiai compound, the China Inland Mission and the Roman Catholic mission.⁹⁸ Shortly after Hartwell's family reached the U Shia Kiai compound, crowds gathered and Mrs. Hartwell, her two children and two women representing the Woman's Missionary Society fled to the China Inland Mission where they joined eight other adults and five children. With a crowd milling in the street, chairs were ordered. Only six adults and four children managed to escape to the Huayang yamen, however, before the crowd grew turbulent and began attacking the mission. The remaining five adults, including the Kilborns, and three children were forced to seek refuge in the house of a neighbor. They remained concealed "scarcely venturing to speak above a whisper" until 8:00 p.m. when chairs were called for and they left for the yamen. The Roman Catholic church and mission were the last missionary holdings to be destroyed. During the evening of May 29, Bishop Dunand and Father Pontvianne, the only two non-Chinese

⁹⁸Ibid., xxv-xxvi.

Roman Catholics in the city, reached the Huayang hsien yamen and joined Chengtu's eighteen Protestant missionaries and their eleven children.

For ten nervous and tension filled days the missionaries and their children lived huddled together as prisoners in the yamen. Cramped together in a few small rooms, denied the right to use the telegraph and without privacy from either soldiers or officials, the Canadians were to recall their stay in the yamen as both insulting to their person and church.⁹⁹ Even the threat of death did not escape them. On May 30, a placard which later gave rise to speculation among the whole Western body, missionary, merchant and dip-

⁹⁹Kilborn and Stevenson were subjected to an "inquisition" by the Prefect, T'ang Ch'eng-lieh. T'ang demanded that they explain the unfortunate relationship between Hare and Chwang's wife; and that they explain their own relationship with the drugged boy apparently found on the mission on May 28. Both doctors denied any knowledge of the latter, whereupon the Prefect invited them to prove their innocence by curing him. Stevenson recalled that he and Kilborn were advised by friendly Chinese not to attempt any cure for a successful cure would apparently indicate their guilt. They refused and Kilborn threatened the Prefect with a violation of the missionaries extraterritoriality rights. Hereafter the Prefect left them alone. Their stay in the yamen was also aggravated by the presence of two sickly and pregnant women. One of them, Mrs. O.L. Kilborn gave birth to a son; while the other woman's premature child died. David Stevenson felt the missionaries were treated as "poor white trash"; and in reply to a statement by Olin Cady of the Methodist Episcopal Mission that the Magistrate, Huang Tao-yung, showed concern for the safety of the missionaries, Stevenson could only reply "that is like thanking the man who kicks us into a ditch and then allows us to lay on his mat." George Hartwell echoed Stevenson's words by describing the events in Chengtu as "a continuous nightmare". See the statements by Kilborn and Stevenson in Cunningham, xxvii-xxviii and 12-17; and Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 51.

lomat, that the Chengtu riots were only the beginning of an organized nationwide anti-foreign propaganda campaign went into circulation in Chengtu:

At the present time when Japan has usurped Chinese territory you English, French and Americans have looked on with your hands in your sleeves. If in future you wish to preach your doctrines in China you must drive the Japanese back to their own country, then you will be allowed to preach your holy Gospel throughout the country without let or hindrance.¹⁰⁰

Rumors were also being circulated in Chengtu that enraged people were gathering the names of the native Christians for their massacre on June 2, while June 7, was the day scheduled for an attack on the yamen and the killing of the foreigners.¹⁰¹

The officials, to the contrary, were circulating the story that all foreigners had left Chengtu. On the evening of May 30 the Viceroy received a telegram from Peking calling for order among the Chinese and "comfort for the foreigners."¹⁰² With the mission property destroyed, the Chengtu administration hastened to follow Peking's dictates. The atmosphere in the city remained tense, however, and it was not until June 9 that the officials deemed the situation safe for the jaunt of the missionaries and their children from the yamen to the houseboats and the subsequent journey

¹⁰⁰Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, xxx, See Proclamation No. 3.

¹⁰¹Ibid., xxviii. From the account by Kilborn.

¹⁰²Ibid., xvii. From the account by Olin Cady.

downriver to Chungking and Shanghai.

In Kiating, Hart, Endicott and Hare, received news of the Chengtu riots on the evening of May 31.¹⁰³ Endicott and his wife were immediately sent to Chungking while Hart and Hare remained in the city in anticipation of more news from the troubled capital. Kiating was not to be spared the violence that shook Chengtu and on the morning of June 4 placards calling on the people to drive all foreigners from Szechwan were found posted throughout the city. During that night Hart and Hare left for Chungking. For the remainder of the month, missions scattered over the whole of Szechwan were attacked and pillaged. In all some sixty-five foreigners were driven from the province.¹⁰⁴

The diplomatic sequel to the Chengtu Riots

Hart and Hare arrived in Chungking to find the other Canadians already on their way downriver to Shanghai. They, and the other missionaries gathered in Chungking, were advised by the British consul and the local Chinese officials to follow the path of the earlier evacuees. Before they departed, however, a meeting of merchants and missionaries was held under the chairmanship of Hart.¹⁰⁵ Their anger over the

¹⁰³Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 273.

¹⁰⁴Leslie T. Lyall, A Passion for the Impossible: The China Inland Mission 1865-1965 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), 62; North China Herald, August 16, 1895, 268. Not one Roman Catholic appears to have left.

¹⁰⁵For a report of the Chungking meeting, see A History of the Szechuen Riots by Cunningham, 25. Of the Protestant missions in Szechwan only the China Inland

events in Szechwan was almost vindictive. In a brief prepared for the British and American ministers in Peking they demanded that respect be shown them as men and Christians, and agreed emphatically that only punishment of the officials would secure them a respected status in China. Not stopping at mere censure, they unanimously called for a revision of the treaty provisions dealing with foreign residence in the interior and proposed that a joint commission of the powers involved carry on a full scale investigation into the Chengtu riots.¹⁰⁶ Similar petitions were also prepared by the foreign communities in Ichang and Hankow.

The first band of Canadian refugees arrived in Shanghai on July 4, while Hart and Hare followed a week later. They found the foreign community in the coastal city enraged over the events in Chengtu. No foreign paper was as disturbed as the North China Herald. From its first issue following news of the riots, the Herald credited the Viceroy of Szechwan, Liu Ping-chang, with full responsibility for

Mission refused to join the missionaries in their demands. They believed that the matter could be settled between themselves and the local officials without recourse to consular pressure.

¹⁰⁶Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 288. In a letter to Alexander Sutherland from Ichang on July 4, Hart made it clear that the missionaries were as interested in obtaining justice for the responsible authorities as they were in obtaining a financial indemnity. With respect to the Canadian mission he estimated their claims would not be much more than twenty thousand taels or eighteen thousand dollars, Ibid., 288-290

the hostilities and destruction accrued by the missionaries in his province.¹⁰⁷ In its issue of June 7, Liu was vituperatively denounced as being the "notoriously antiforeign" author of a mad scheme that would become "infamous in the annals of mission work in China."¹⁰⁸ "Apparently nothing will do for China", it further declared, "but a strong hand in Peking and the inevitable gunboat in the provinces."¹⁰⁹ Hereafter the Herald demanded punishments for Liu and his fellow conspirators, indemnities and a hard line policy by

¹⁰⁷Liu was a native of Anhwei and a former governor of Kiangsi and Chekiang. He assumed the post of Viceroy of Szechwan in 1886, the year rioting destroyed an American mission in Chungking in retribution for the location of a mission building. Liu's administration attempted to supervise the location of new missions and his overseeing increased in the wake of the anti-foreign outbreaks along the Yangtze in 1890 and 1891. Throughout 1892, missionaries in Szechwan wrote of bands of Chinese carrying on anti-foreign propaganda under the protection of the Viceroy and of difficulty in leasing new property. On November 12, 1894, his office issued a proclamation ordering all Chinese wishing to sell property "to priests and that sort of people" to first receive official permission. To the missionaries the proclamation was deemed a blatant usurpation of the legal rights guaranteed them by the Berthemy Convention. He retired in late 1894 but his replacement was tardy in reaching Szechwan. Hereafter any interference by Liu's office was viewed by the missionaries as official persecution. By June 1895 he was known to the missionaries as their "bitterest" opponent and the riots were believed to be his "final kick" against them. For biographical information on Liu, see Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895); Myths and Politics", 29-30; Cordier, Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec Les Puissances Occidentales, 1860-1902, vol. 3, 322; Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, 3-4, xxix-xxx; Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 58-59; and The Chinese Recorder, vol. XXIII (1892), 236-237; 287-289; 350; 483; vol. XXVI (1895), 342; 391-399.

¹⁰⁸North China Herald, June 7, 1895, 851 and 856.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 856.

the British and American consular officials in Peking.

"Indignation meetings" called by American clergymen in Shanghai on July 1 and July 14 echoed the Herald's philosophy and further repeated the contents of the brief prepared in Chungking.¹¹⁰ In view of the aggressive politique carried on by the French minister in Peking, August Gérard, their anxiety for action was further intensified and publicized in the Herald.

The Chinese court was unprepared for the rioting which shook Szechwan. Its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War came as a humiliating surprise, and it had accepted with gratitude French-German-Russian pressure which encouraged Japan to offer a more equitable peace settlement. When news of the riots arrived in Peking, the court was negotiating with the Western powers for a low interest loan that would enable China to pay the indemnity demanded by Japan. It did not wish to insult and anger the foreign powers. China, however, was not to receive sympathy from the three Western powers whose citizens were victims of the riots.¹¹¹

The fiery French minister, August Gérard, was the first to act. He was in the process of negotiating treaties

¹¹⁰Cunningham, A History of the Szechuen Riots, 25-38; i-vi.

¹¹¹For the general diplomatic situation in China see William L. Langer, The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 390-395. For a well balanced expose of the diplomacy of the French, British and American ministers in Peking see Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895): Myths and Politics", 40-46.

which would have given the French a dominant position in the Yunnan railroad race when he first learned of the riots. He immediately seized the opportunity for pressure and on June 4 dispatched two cruisers and several gunboats to Nan-king. Twelve days later his office advised Prince Ch'ing to sign the desired treaties and to make a settlement with the French missionaries. The court complied and the treaties were signed on June 20; a month later on July 20, a Chinese commission was appointed to settle the value of the indemnity in consultation with Bishop Dunand.¹¹² Gérard's energetic action only increased the growing impatience of the British and American communities in Shanghai.

The North China Herald was particularly bitter over the apparent tardiness of the British minister in Peking.¹¹³ In actuality, Sir Nicholas O'Connor could do little. On being informed of the signing of the Sino-French treaties he became angry and unscrupulously insulted Prince Ch'ing and the Emperor. The Tsungli Yamen immediately demanded his removal and the British Foreign Minister, Lord Salisbury, temporarily advised against further British concern with the missionaries' demands.¹¹⁴ Salisbury's attitude was to change

¹¹²Ibid., 41. This was the first time a foreign power was given the right to construct a railroad on Chinese land. It must be viewed as the specific event which ushered in the "scramble for concessions". In August the commission settled on the sum of 948,000 taels of which 730,000 taels or US \$584,000 were to be paid for the Chengtu damage.

¹¹³North China Herald, passim, July and August.

¹¹⁴Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895): Myths and Politics", 42.

when news of the Ku-t'ien massacre in Fukien province reached his office in August.

On first hearing of the riots, the American minister in Peking, Charles Denby, believed that only one American, Virgil Hart, was involved. Pressure from Shanghai forced him into negotiating with the Tsungli Yamen, however, and on July 6 both parties reached an agreement establishing a commission composed of three Chinese, one Englishman and one American.¹¹⁵ Denby was immediately criticized by the American community in Shanghai for not realizing that only an all-American commission could best serve American interests.¹¹⁶ Bitterly angered by their criticism, Denby temporarily refused to press for their demands.

With O'Connor unable to aid the missionaries and Denby assailed by criticism from Shanghai, the missionaries most energetic spokesman, Virgil Hart, set out for Peking accompanied by Dr. H.M. Hare. They arrived in the capital on July 27 and called on Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector General of the Imperial Maritime Customs. They found the "Old China Hand" unsympathetic to their cause and unwilling to aid them.¹¹⁷ Hart then called on O'Connor. Unlike Sir Robert Hart who was unwilling to do anything, O'Connor was unable to do anything. In frustration, Hart turned to his

¹¹⁵Ibid., 42-43.

¹¹⁶See, in particular, the North China Herald, July 12, 1895, 103.

¹¹⁷Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 299.

old friend Charles Denby and found him growing increasingly concerned over the missionaries' criticism of him and the whole problem surrounding their demands. Before Hart left he received assurances from Denby that he would leave "no stone unturned to bring China to her senses and secure prompt and adequate measures of redress and reform."¹¹⁸

Enroute to Shanghai the two Canadian missionaries stopped in Tientsin and were granted an interview by China's foremost statesman, Li Hung-chang. According to Hart, Li was most anxious to settle the missionaries' grievances and offered to petition for the immediate punishment of police chief Chou Chen-ch'iung providing they were willing to waive their demands for indemnities. In respect to Liu Ping-chang, Li went on the defensive and declared "you may say that he does not like them" when confronted by Hart's harsh statement that the ex-Viceroy of Szechwan was a hater of all foreigners.¹¹⁹ Before they left, Hare examined the famous statesman's face and assured him that the bullet of a recent assassination attempt would cause no permanent damage.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 300-301.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 295. In a letter to Alexander Sutherland from Tientsin on August 7, 1895, Hart wrote that "Li Hung-chang is under a cloud, and cannot be made use of at this juncture"; further in the same letter, Hart described Li as a "poor old man, walking in darkness, tottering to the grave, a prejudiced heathen!". As quoted in G.W. Woodall, "The Mission Builder: Presenting the Life-Work of Rev. Virgil C. Hart, DD, FRAS, Founder of Two Great Missions in the Chinese Empire", (Unpublished manuscript, AUCC:WCM, "n.d."), 242.

Denby lost little time making good his promise to Hart and on August 3 demanded that the Tsungli Yamen make immediate financial restitution and deal out severe punishments for all guilty officials.¹²⁰ The Yamen reacted with a thorough denial of Denby's allegations that any officials were guilty.¹²¹ In actuality, the new Viceroy of Szechwan, Lu Ch'uan-lin, was carrying out an investigation and meting out punishment. Four men were executed and forty others were imprisoned during August and on September 10, despite three days of violent demonstrations which followed the initial executions, nine more men were beheaded.¹²²

To a now aggressive Denby, rebutal by the Tsungli Yamen and a few executions were meaningless gestures. In late August he took up the missionaries cause with zeal and became insistant in demanding both degradation and banishment for Liu Ping-chang.¹²³ His crusade was bolstered by an angered O'Connor. In early August eleven British citizens were massacred in Fukien. O'Connor voiced the opinion that

¹²⁰Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895): Myths and Politics", 43.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid., 44; North China Herald, August 30, 1895, 367; October 18, 1895, 659.

¹²³The State Department in the United States was assailed by briefs from church organizations calling for action. As a result Denby was given more freedom of action. See Paul A. Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 41.

only the degradation of an official as important as Liu Ping-chang would bring "the Chinese to their senses."¹²⁴ Salisbury agreed and O'Connor joined Denby in pressuring the Tsungli Yamen for Liu's degradation.

On September 4, Denby received permission from his government to set up a three man American commission "with or without Chinese consent."¹²⁵ Such unilateral action appeared to be Denby's trump card for a commission of this nature was unprecedented in the history of Sino-Western relations and could only add to the international humiliation suffered by China in 1895.

The Chinese responded quickly to this new confrontation. In Washington, the Chinese ambassador, Yang Ju, pleaded that such a commission was unprecedented and would only increase Chinese animosity towards the West.¹²⁶ His plea and further pleas on September 7, 10 and 15, fell on deaf ears. In a desperate effort to avoid humiliation an imperial edict on September 29 cashiered Liu Ping-chang and forbade him to hold another public office.¹²⁷ The edict further made it clear that the "sole cause" of the Chengtu riots was "neglect of the local authorities." On October 14, another edict cashiered Chou Chen-ch'iung, T'ang Ch'eng-

¹²⁴Wehrle, Britain, China and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900, 88.

¹²⁵Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895): Myths and Politics", 44.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid., 44-45.

lieh, Huang Tao-yung and eight other of Liu's subordinates.¹²⁸

If Denby, O'Connor and the missionaries succeeded in bringing their fight with Liu Ping-chang to a successful conclusion, Peking did not succeed in avoiding the humiliation of a unilateral investigation. The three man American commission was, however, anticlimactic and did little more than survey the damages incurred by the Methodist Episcopal Mission. After brief negotiations an agreement awarding the American mission \$24,260 was signed on December 28, 1895. The Canadian Methodist mission received an indemnity of \$18,000 from the same edict which cashiered Liu Ping-chang.

Conclusions

"A bolt from the blue", as Virgil Hart chose to refer to the Chengtu riots, was the unfortunate collision of two xenophobias. Both East and West viewed the other as barbaric; both East and West misunderstood the other. Perhaps, misunderstood does not comprehend the actual source of adversity, perhaps could not understand better suits the situation.

The authorities in Chengtu in common with a great number of people in Szechwan and the empire found it difficult to visualize honest men and women travelling half way

¹²⁸Ibid., 45; The Chinese Recorder, vol. XXVI (1895), 549.

around the world to preach a gospel exhorting men to do good. Their strange manners, strange customs and strange beliefs fostered speculation among the Chinese that the foreigners' idealism was little else but a facade behind which lay fear defying motives: they were criminals fleeing justice; they were spies surveying the road for armies that would soon conquer; and they were fortune hunters deceiving innocent people in an attempt to reap the hidden treasure of foregone eras.¹²⁹

Reactions as these reinforced the Canadian belief that the Chinese needed all the spiritual help that they as missionaries were capable of giving. If the Chinese were hesitant it simply meant that they were unsure of the power of Christianity. It thus became an added responsibility of all Canadians to make their presence felt and known. The West China Mission became the first mixed body of missionaries in Chengtu to retain their home style dress and the Canadians also became the first foreigners in Chengtu to construct and live in a foreign home. With the Chinese indicating animosity towards the Canadians, and the Canadians publicizing their presence, the inevitable result could be none other than collision. And when this collision was intensified by the traditional factors which upset the local feng-shui, the situation was to be wrought by the fury of violence.

¹²⁹Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 45.

The mental and physical strain stemming from the riots, the threat of death and the hazardous journey down-river took its toll upon the small Canadian mission. In the fall of 1895, Mrs. Stevenson's acute ill-health forced her husband to sever his connection with the China work and return to Canada. Mrs. George Hartwell suffered a nervous condition and similarly returned to Canada. Hartwell and the other Canadians spent their long months of exile in Shanghai and Japan.

As refugees they had time to discuss the mission's successes and failure and agreed upon several points which were to influence their future work. It was deemed essential that each missionary spend at least two years in unhindered language study before beginning his work. The need for this length of time was voiced as early as 1892 but with the mission shortstaffed the idea proved impossible. The three departments of work already established were to be continued and a fourth, a printing press, was to be established. In view of the need for a greater number of native assistants the Canadian mission transferred its responsibility for the education of girls in Chengtu to the Woman's Missionary Society and concentrated its efforts after 1895 with the education of a selected number of boys and young men showing promise of becoming good Christians. The mission looked forward to training evangelists, teachers, medical assistants and printers. "A bolt from the blue", in effect, only postponed the progress of the Canadian West China Mission, it did not destroy it.

The Chengtu riots were of a more severe consequence to the Chinese government. Two of the missionaries' demands, degradation and punishments for the authorities involved and indemnification for the damages incurred, were officially ~~acceded~~ to while a third, an enunciation of the foreigners "right" to reside and hold property outside the treaty ports was recognized by the Tsungli Yamen in 1896.¹³⁰ In 1903, an article in the Sino-American treaty of that year acknowledged the legal right of property ownership in the interior.¹³¹ The missionaries and all foreigners were never given the legal right of residence outside the treaty ports. Acknowledgment of such a right by the Tsungli Yamen in 1896 and recognition of the legal right of property ownership in the interior in 1903 concluded further negotiations on this point. "Missionary diplomacy had", as concluded by E.S. Wehrle, "won its greatest victory."¹³²

The diplomatic sequel to the Chengtu riots made it clear that the Chinese government could formulate no policy to breach the existing xenophobias. Frustrated by its own failure in dealing with the West, tripped up by missions demanding "rights", and pressured by foreign powers hungry for their own prestige, China was forced to succumb and

¹³⁰Chao-Kwang Wu, The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China, 32-33.

¹³¹Ibid., 34.

¹³²Wehrle, Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900, 90.

recognize new concessions and new "rights". The presence of a small group of Canadians in no little way increased the animosity shown by many Chinese and must in the final analysis be recognized as a direct factor aiding the humiliation and further submission of China in 1895. This same submission unfortunately could only intensify the existing xenophobias and lay the way for further collisions and further submissions. Virgil C. Hart's words on learning of Liu Ping-chang's degradation are indeed prophetic:

I believe the very pillars of iniquity which have held up this tottering fabric which we call, 'The Imperial Government' are about to be pulled down. We must and are to have a new China. I feel thankful to live to see this day and somehow feel that we have done our best year's work in 1895.¹³³

¹³³Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 302.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE PEKING SETTLEMENT TO THE THREAT OF BOXER REACTION 1895-1900

Re-establishment of the West China Mission

For the evangelists Virgil Hart and George Hartwell separation from their work in Szechwan was as difficult as separation from their families. Several months of inactivity reinforced this anxiety and in late November 1895 they left Shanghai for Chengtu. The situation along the Yangtze was still tense and the two travellers were apprehensive of an anti-foreign atmosphere similar to that which had forced them to leave five months earlier. To their pleasant surprise they were able to resume their work without incident and with the cooperation of the officials.

Upon their arrival in Chengtu the two missionaries were met by an official escort of six soldiers and were escorted to a compound across the street from the destroyed Sz Shen Tsz Kiai mission.¹³⁴ They were welcomed by the city Magistrate and were informed that the compound had been rented for the Canadian mission by the city administration.

¹³⁴From a letter by George Hartwell to his wife as quoted in Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 53.

The Magistrate further added that if the Canadian mission wished to purchase the property it was free to do so. "Just think", was Hartwell's reaction in a letter to his wife, "of a Chinese official suggesting to a foreigner that he could 'buy' land a term that the Viceroy in a special proclamation just before the riots had condemned."¹³⁵

Hart and Hartwell were even more surprised by the large number of non-official Chinese who visited their new compound with words of welcome. None were more warmly received than the boys and girls previously enrolled as students in the mission schools. Both missionaries unhesitatingly agreed that these young people were largely responsible for the friendliness shown them.¹³⁶ In the aftermath of the riots the mission students had staunchly denied the validity of the rumors attributing kidnappings and bizarre murders to the Canadian mission. Hart and Hartwell voiced optimism for the future and in a letter to Alexander Sutherland on January 27, 1896, Hartwell noted that the riots had in fact done much to aid mission work:

Judging from appearances the work instead of being hindered is in many ways years in advance. Then we were looked upon with suspicion as spies who had come to search out their treasures with our piercing blue eyes, or sorcerers who by charms could control the weather, bring on calamities, cause epidemics or as barbarians who were allied with evil spirits. I do not say there is no suspicion now, but the facts that we are back, that suf-

¹³⁵Ibid., 54.

¹³⁶Ibid., 54-55; Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 308-309.

ficient money has been refunded to put our mission premises in good shape again, that nearly every official in the city has been censured or degraded, that the present officials received us back in an honourable way and provided us with suitable residences have impressed the people that the missionaries could not have been as bad as they were represented.¹³⁷

In surveying the damage suffered by their U Shia Kiai and Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compounds the two missionaries found that nothing was left of their once picturesque buildings but several feet of crumbling foundation! With their indemnity they foresaw little difficulty in replacing the physical apparatus of the mission. During the rebuilding, however, nearly a year of direct work among the Chinese would be lost. After spending several weeks in Chengtu, Hart left for Kiating and found the mission compounds in a condition similar to those in the capital city. In Kiating, the strain of the hectic events of the previous year attacked Hart's health. With his resistance broken by malaria he left Szechwan in February 1896 for Canada and a year's furlough.

Hartwell remained in Chengtu to supervise the construction of the new mission buildings and soon had one hundred and fifty Chinese under his employ. On April 17, 1896, the remaining body of Canadian missionaries arrived in the capital and found the work well on its way. In August, a house based on a Sino-Western design and a church with a seating capacity of over four hundred were completed.¹³⁸

¹³⁷Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 54-55.

¹³⁸Alexander Sutherland voiced concern that the buildings constructed by the mission should not be too

By the end of the year a street reading room, a two-storied school with a dormitory, a classroom for Sunday school, a parsonage, a guest room for informal meetings, and living quarters for people employed by the mission, were also in use.¹³⁹ The street chapel near the East Gate, the only building associated with any mission that remained undamaged during the riots, was purchased and reopened to the public late in 1896. In March, 1897, the task of rebuilding was completed in Chengtu with the opening of a twenty-seven bed hospital on the original hospital site.¹⁴⁰

Dr. H.M. Hare and the Rev. James Endicott arrived in Kiating from Chengtu in June, 1896, and initiated the re-establishment of the Canadian mission in that city through the purchase of a new compound. By the end of the year a house and a bookroom were in use; and on June 6, 1897, shortly after Hart's return to Kiating, a chapel was opened.¹⁴¹ The building for the mission's printing press was completed in August, and a day school was opened in February, 1898. In that same month, the construction program in Kiating came to an end with the opening of an

conspicuous for fear of disturbing friendly relations with the Chinese. Hence a Sino-Western design for the house rather than a totally Western design. See AUCC:WCM, Box 2, Folder 28, Sutherland to James Endicott, 5 May 1896.

¹³⁹Report of G.E. Hartwell in 72nd AR 1895-96, xxxiv-xxxv.

¹⁴⁰Report of O.L. Kilborn in 73rd AR 1896-97, xciv-xcvi.

¹⁴¹Ibid., xxxiii. From the report by J. Endicott.

eighteen bed hospital.¹⁴²

The first two years following the return of the missionaries were largely spent in reconstructing the physical apparatus of the mission and in reorganizing the institutions established in the first period of Canadian work in Szechwan. The three departments of work undertaken by the mission prior to 1895, evangelical, educational and medical, were re-established. In Kiating, a fourth department, the press, was added in the fall of 1897.

Rapid expansion of the West China Mission's facilities was, however, to be controlled between 1896 and 1900 by the insecure financial position of the Methodist Church of Canada.¹⁴³ The Missionary Society's annual expenditure on the mission had not, in fact, been large and for the 1892-1895 period fluctuated between \$5,769.73 and \$10,364.57 (see Appendix II). For the five years between 1896 and 1900 the annual spendings on the mission were not to be larger than \$9,989.40. This budget was too small for the work planned by the missionaries. The largest portion of the cost of

¹⁴²Reports of V.C. Hart, J. Endicott and H.M. Hare in the 74th AR 1897-98, xxvi-xxix.

¹⁴³The Methodist Church found it difficult to balance its accounts during the 1890's; in 1898 its expenditures were some \$30,000 beyond its actual income. In view of the financial position of their church, many Methodist clergymen in Canada voluntarily agreed to salary cuts of 25% to 30%, and questioned the feasibility of spending monies on a mission that had made such insignificant progress prior to 1895 and appeared to be a risk in terms of life and time. See AUCC:WCM, Box 2, Folder 27, Sutherland to Hart, 23 October 1897; Ibid., Box 2, Folder 29, Sutherland to Hart, 12 April 1898.

rebuilding in Chengtu and Kiating was financed by the indemnity; but, plans to intensify evangelical work, build larger school facilities, increase medical involvement, organize the press work, and carry out itinerant work would have to be financed by monies forwarded from Canada. Inflation was also present to offset the favorable exchange differential between Canadian silver and Chinese copper cash.¹⁴⁴

The missionaries found it difficult to understand why the Canadian Church could advise austerity and cautioned progress when so many Chinese were waiting to be told of the "good word". Their annual reports continued to call for more missionaries and more money to meet the tremendous opportunity before them. The Church Executive, on the other hand, reiterated that the Canadian missionaries could not expect to convert every person in Szechwan.¹⁴⁵ In a letter to Virgil Hart on January 29, 1897, Sutherland re-emphasized that it was the duty of the missionaries to train Chinese as Christians for "in the longrun Chinese must be evangelized by the Chinese, and what is needed is a number of earnest, consecrated, and levelheaded men, to train and lead the native forces."¹⁴⁶ This same policy was to apply

¹⁴⁴Ibid., Box 2, Folder 27, Sutherland to Hart, 30 January 1897. In 1897 the exchange ratio for an ounce of silver decreased from the 1430 copper cash that it had been before the riots to 1080 copper cash.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., Box 2, Folder 29, Sutherland to Hart, 28 November 1899.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., Box 2, Folder 27, Sutherland to Hart, 29 January 1897.

to educational and medical work and any other field of work undertaken by the Canadian Mission. Nevertheless, despite this shortage of funds and a small number of missionaries, the West China Mission succeeded in making Christians of more than several Chinese between 1896 and 1900.

Evangelization of the Chinese, 1896-1900

The "test" through which Chinese had to pass before they were baptized called for patience on both the part of the missionary and the convert. The missionaries felt very concerned that the quality of converts should never be diluted by a quantity of unsound or "rice" Christians.¹⁴⁷ To guard against the baptism of the latter, the mission expected each Chinese to pass through two stages of education before baptism. When a person expressed a desire to accept the Christian way of life he or she was enrolled as an "inquirer" and began a study of Christianity. When the mission was satisfied that the "inquirer's" convictions were true, he became a "probationer" and entered a more intense program of study.¹⁴⁸ Only when a "probationer" could fully break away from association with the ancestral rites, idolatry, opium smoking, foot-binding, polygamy, gambling, and only when he was willing to reserve one day in seven for

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., Box 2, Folder 29, Sutherland to Hart, 28 November 1899.

¹⁴⁸ As the number of "inquirers" grew, they were divided and the more advanced became "catechumens".

rest, was he accepted as a member of the church and baptized.¹⁴⁹ These demands by the mission were not only social, a breaking away almost entirely from Chinese society, but were in many respects economic for many Chinese could not afford to rest on Sunday or give up production of their opium cash crop. Patience was of prime importance. The length of time between being accepted as an "inquirer" and receiving baptism was on the average about two years. Not one Chinese was baptized by the Canadian Methodist Mission during its initial three years in Szechwan.

Shortly after Hartwell's return to Chengtu one of his former school teachers, Tsun, a man with a "licentiate" (hsiu-ts'ai) degree who "never exhibited any particular interest in the Gospel" prior to the riots, broke with Confucianism and moved his family into Hartwell's home.¹⁵⁰ By August 2, 1896, the date of the official opening of the new church, the First Church, twelve Chinese were listed as "inquirers" or "probationers", and on that day another six stepped forward as "inquirers". August 2 was also the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the mission. On that day its first convert was baptized.¹⁵¹ Within a year the number of baptized Chinese increased to nine and the number of "inquirers" and "probationers" rose from eighteen to forty.

¹⁴⁹Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 103-104.

¹⁵⁰Report of G.E. Hartwell in 73rd AR 1896-97, xciii.

¹⁵¹Our West China Mission (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1920), 268-269.

Of these nine baptized people, eight were men and one was a woman.¹⁵²

Large attendances in the church services and growing enthusiasm among the Chinese permitted the missionaries to make two changes which increased the responsibility of the Chinese towards the mission and set before the missionaries increasing optimism for a self supporting native church. The financial position of the mission hastened the taking up of Sunday collections and in September of 1896 the Chengtu church received its first requested donations from the Chinese.¹⁵³ While the weekly collections were not large, they were sufficient to rent a shop near the center of the city and keep a man there to sell scriptures. In February of 1897 the mission organized a "home missionary society" and for its first time assigned a Chinese convert to evangelical work in the suburbs of Chengtu.

Three bookrooms were opened between 1896 and 1900 and were as popular as the two opened in the 1892-1895 period. Scientific books were becoming increasingly in demand, and several magazines dealing with reform, political and international affairs also gained considerable attention. In connection with the newly established Kiating printing press, the Chengtu mission began circulating Christian publications among the ruling classes. By 1899, it was

¹⁵²Report of G.E. Hartwell in 73rd AR 1896-97, xciii.

¹⁵³Ibid., xcii.

sending out one hundred and fifty copies per month to leading officials and scholars within the city.¹⁵⁴

The Chengtu mission also took up itinerant work in the nine walled cities and the scores of market towns and villages located within a fifty mile radius of the capital. George Hartwell emerged as the most active itinerant missionary and travelled through the countryside and cities preaching, distributing literature and simply meeting the conservative though not hostile people. In his annual report for 1897-1898, Hartwell estimated travelling one thousand miles by a variety of "vehicles": walking, 250; sedan chair, 250; wheelbarrow, 15; boat, 150; and the remainder on horseback.¹⁵⁵ Itinerant evangelization was an important part of the Chengtu work. In 1899 the mission assigned Dr. W. E. Smith, an arrival to Chengtu in 1897, to full-time itinerant work. For the ten months from August 1899 to May 1900, Smith reported that the mission had four hundred and seventy-three "inquirers" outside of Chengtu and that he had treated nearly seven hundred Chinese for a variety of diseases.¹⁵⁶

While coordinating its activities in Chengtu the West China Mission also found resources to open an outstation in the city of Penghsien, some thirty miles to the north of the

¹⁵⁴Report of G.E. Hartwell in 75th AR 1898-99, xxxiii.

¹⁵⁵Report of G.E. Hartwell in 74th AR 1897-98, xxxi-xxxii.

¹⁵⁶Report of W.E. Smith in 76th AR 1899-1900, xxxi-xxxiii.

capital, under the supervision of a native evangelist.¹⁵⁷ On April 4, 1897, Tsun, the hsiu-ts'ai was baptized and expressed the desire to become a missionary. The Chengtu church had had its attention drawn to Penghsien by students from that city inquiring about the availability of scientific materials. In view of this interest the mission decided to open an outstation, a mission without the permanent presence of a foreigner, and delegated the responsibility of establishing it to Tsun. In Penghsien, he met a friend of his fathers and was introduced to several officials one of whom offered to rent him a room for a streetside chapel and bookshop. A price was agreed upon, the rent was paid and the teacher returned to Chengtu to gather supplies. On his return a week later he found the shop locked and the landlord disturbed by the uproar created by his neighbors. Anti-foreign rumors were being circulated and the city Magistrate appeared determined not to permit the mission to establish a chapel or bookshop on that particular property. Hartwell travelled to Pengshien and after waiting several weeks was able to call on the Magistrate. The difficulty was cleared up within minutes and the Canadian mission was offered a new location closer to the heart of the city on the condition that it give up the disputed property. By 1897 the Canadian mission was aware that patience and the saving of "face" could reap far more favorable results than a hasty demand for

¹⁵⁷Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 98-101; Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 105-111; Our West China Mission, 163-164.

one's rights. Penghsien became the West China Mission's first outstation and within six months had forty "inquirers" and "probationers" and one full church member.

In Kiating, a new chapel was dedicated by Hart in June 1897 and the mission's first convert was baptized as part of the official opening ceremonies.¹⁵⁸ The bookroom was reopened early in 1897 and attracted large numbers of inquisitive Chinese. By 1899, Endicott could report that booksales in Kiating were four hundred per cent ahead of the previous year's sales and that about ninety per cent of the purchases were made by the literary and official classes.¹⁵⁹ Yet, if sales in books reflected a change in attitude by the mission's traditional enemies, the evangelical work in Kiating did not match that made in Chengtu. The church services were never as well attended and the generally conservative attitude of the population was further intensified by the publicity given to the Yu Man-tze troubles in 1898.¹⁶⁰ By 1899, the Kiating mission could count only four full members as compared to Chengtu's twenty-six, and only ten "probationers" as compared to the capital's fourteen.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸Report of J. Endicott in 73rd AR 1896-97, xxxiii.

¹⁵⁹Report of J. Endicott in 75th AR 1898-99, xxx.

¹⁶⁰Report of J. Endicott in 74th AR 1897-98, xxviii; for more on Yu Man-tze see pages 98 to 100 of this study.

¹⁶¹75th AR 1898-99, xxxv.

Itinerant work was carried on in the area immediate to Kiating, but was not as largescale as that carried on in Chengtu. The mission was made up of only three men, Hart, Endicott and Hare, and did not have Chinese trained for itinerant evangelization. As a result the work was periodic and no one man was assigned full responsibility for the task. Nevertheless, a building was rented in Omei and several times a year, Hart or Endicott visited the city with Dr. Hare.¹⁶² Endicott also made visits to the salt-well district of Tzeliutsing in 1898 and the agricultural area near the city of Junghsien in 1899.¹⁶³ Both cities were to become important mission centers for the Canadian Methodist Mission.

One of the most important departments of work undertaken by the Kiating mission and in many respects one of the most significant departments of work organized by the Canadian mission was the printing department. Hart envisioned the importance of a press as a viable unit in all mission work as early as 1888, but it was not until 1897 that he succeeded in bringing two presses to China.¹⁶⁴ His presses were the first to be put into operation by a mission west of Hankow. Chinese type was purchased in Shanghai and in October 1897 the first religious tract was printed on

¹⁶²Report of V.C. Hart in 74th AR 1897-98, xxvii.

¹⁶³Reports of J. Endicott in the 74th AR 1897-98, xxviii; and the 75th AR 1898-99, xxx.

¹⁶⁴While he was in Canada on furlough in 1896-97, Hart raised funds for the presses through private subscriptions.

Chinese paper. By the summer of the following year the Press had printed over 300,000 pages, and by the same time in 1899 its publications increased to nearly 1,300,000 pages.¹⁶⁵ Eight Chinese were employed as printers in 1899 and the Press was self-supporting except for the missionary's salary and the cost of the building. As the sole mission press to the west of Hankow, the Press received orders from several evangelistic bodies and two Christian tract societies: the American Bible Society, and the West China Tract Society, the latter an organization of which the Canadian mission was a founding member.¹⁶⁶ The work continued without interruption until mid 1900 and from 1897 to 1900 published nearly five million pages of literature in Chinese.¹⁶⁷

Involvement with education, 1896-1900

Upon their return to Chengtu in 1896 both Hart and Hartwell were enthusiastically impressed by the attitude of the boys and girls enroled in their schools in the pre-riot years. The mission was convinced that education was the key to breaking down Chinese prejudice and looked forward to the training of a select number of young men in anticipation that a good percentage of them would become Christians and join the church as evangelists. In the capital city the girls

¹⁶⁵Report of V.C. Hart in 75th AR 1898-99, xxx.

¹⁶⁶Our West China Mission, 416 .

¹⁶⁷Bond, Our Share in China and What We are Doing with It, 78.

formerly enroled in the mission schools were turned over to the Woman's Missionary Society, but in Kiating, where the Methodist women were not present, the mission continued the operation of a co-educational institution. Education did not, however, make the inroads in the 1896-1900 period that the Canadian missionaries hoped it would. Amid the missionaries busy responsibility towards rebuilding and evangelization little of their time was left for educational supervision, and in view of the Missionary Society's austerity budgets no specialized missionary was sent out to take full control of the educational work.

In Chengtu a school was opened in the spring of 1896 and twenty-nine boys were soon enroled under Tsun.¹⁶⁸ When he left to take up the evangelistic work in Pengshien in 1897, another Chinese, one of the young men adopted as a ward by Rev. Lucas in 1894, took up Tsun's old position in Chengtu. The school in Kiating was opened by Hart in February 1898 and within a week had an enrolment of eighteen boys and four girls.¹⁶⁹ Boarders were received as special students in Chengtu; in Kiating accomodation was unavailable and none were kept.

The number of students enroled in the schools in both centers remained fairly stationary from 1896 to 1900. The combined number of students for any given year between 1896 and 1900 did not, however, exceed the total number of students

¹⁶⁸Report of G.E. Hartwell in 72nd AR 1895-96, xxxv.

¹⁶⁹Report of V.C. Hart in 74th AR 1897-98, xxvii.

enroled in the four schools operated by the Chengtu mission in 1894-95.¹⁷⁰ The day-school students in both mission centers followed the curriculum set in the initial period of Canadian involvement in Szechwan, while the boarders in Chengtu studied history and English in addition to Chinese, mathematics, geography and the Bible.¹⁷¹ Several other young men were taught mathematics and English by a special arrangement with the mission.

The mission was not devoting enough time to the area of education. A missionary trained in the field of education was needed to co-ordinate the mission's education program and to prepare a curriculum for the training of Chinese teachers. The missionaries recognized the problem and Hart and Hartwell consistently called for more money and more men to aid the educational work. Hartwell, in particular, felt that the energy expended on education was far below that expected and planned for. In 1896 he assessed the ability of the mission students as "better than formerly, and their work more satisfactory", and called on the Methodist Church for more aid.¹⁷² His plea was repeated in 1897 and reiterated

¹⁷⁰Our West China Mission, 314. The number of students in the Chengtu schools were 44 in 1893-94, 100 in 1894-95, 29 in 1896-97, 50 in 1897-98, 30 in 1898-99, 32 in 1899-1900. Statistics for the number of students in Kiating are unavailable for 1894-95; in 1897-98 there were 22, in 1898-99 there were 33, and in 1899-1900 there were 38.

¹⁷¹Report of G.E. Hartwell in 75th AR 1898-99, xxxiii.

¹⁷²Report of G.E. Hartwell in 72nd AR 1895-96, xxxv.

with despair in 1898, "will someone, interested in higher education, open up the way?"¹⁷³ For the 1896-1900 period, however, educational work was over-shadowed by the evangelical, medical and press work. It was not until the third period of the West China Mission's involvement in China that education became a truly important part of the mission's work.

Medical work, 1896-1900

The opening of two new hospitals, a twenty-seven bed unit in Chengtu on March 29, 1897, and an eighteen bed unit in Kiating on February 7, 1898, marked the official resumption of medical work in the two centers. The tardiness of the medical missionaries in re-establishing their work did not lower their reputation among the Chinese and as in the initial period they were to play a significant role in allaying Chinese suspicion of the mission. The mission continued its policy of having at least fifty per cent of the missionaries medical men and sent out Dr. W.E. Smith to replace Stevenson. Two other doctors also joined the mission, Dr. R.B. Ewan in 1897, and Dr. W. Stephens in 1900. For the years between 1896 and 1900, Drs. Kilborn, Smith, Ewan and Stephens remained in Chengtu, while Hare worked as the lone medical missionary in Kiating.

Statistics for medical work over a period of approximately fifteen months after the opening of the hospitals in

¹⁷³Reports of G.E. Hartwell in 73rd AR 1896-97, xciii; and 74th AR 1897-98, xxx.

both Chengtu and Kiating are interesting and indicate enthusiasm on the part of the Chinese for the services they received (TABLE 1). These figures are of increasing interest when the reader realizes that the dispensaries were only opened three days per week, and that only one doctor was in fact responsible for the work in each of the hospitals, Kilborn in Chengtu and Hare in Kiating. Of the total number of patients received, one-quarter were women.¹⁷⁴ The patients were also coming to the hospitals from areas beyond central Szechwan: of the 2,848 new patients visiting the Chengtu hospital, 206 came from 47 different counties throughout the province, and 5 came from outside the province.¹⁷⁵

TABLE 1

STATISTICS FOR HOSPITAL WORK IN CHENG TU AND KIATING
FOR AN APPROXIMATELY FIFTEEN MONTH PERIOD FOLLOWING
THE RESUMPTION OF MEDICAL WORK IN EACH CENTER

	Chengtu	Kiating
Number of new patients in dispensary	2,848	1,285
Return visits to dispensary	7,760	2,395
Visits to patients in their homes	78	18
Total number of attendances	10,686	3,727
Number of patients in wards	126	28
Number of operations	375	265

Source: Statistics for Chengtu cover the period April 1897-June 1898 and are taken from the report of O.L. Kilborn in 74th AR 1897-98, xxxii; statistics for Kiating cover the period February 1898-June 1899 and are taken from the report of H.M. Hare in 75th AR 1898-99, xxxii.

¹⁷⁴Report of O.L. Kilborn in 74th AR 1897-98, xxxii.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

The number of patients visiting the Kiating hospital was smaller than the number of patients visiting the Chengtu hospital largely because of the Yu Man-tze rebellion which broke out in an area near Kiating in late 1898. The people of Kiating were more conservative than the people of Chengtu in their attitude towards the foreigner and during the height of the trouble with the rebel not a patient came near the mission "for days and days."¹⁷⁶ This attitude changed in the aftermath of the trouble and in late 1899 the mission reported receiving an above average number of patients.

Medical work, as the other departments of work carried on by the West China Mission, was influenced by the financial position of the Methodist Church in Canada. In the 1896-1900 period the hospitals saw the expansion of their facilities conditioned by the willingness of their patients to pay for treatment. The mission attempted to make the hospitals self-supporting. All patients receiving treatment for the first time, on a regular dispensing day, were charged a fee of twenty cash (Canadian 1.5 cents); while patients coming out of the regular hours on a dispensing day, or on a day other than a scheduled dispensing day, were asked to pay three hundred cash (Canadian 20 cents).¹⁷⁷ From this latter group of people, obviously the well-to-do, the hospital reserved the right "to swell the income of the

¹⁷⁶Report of H.M. Hare in 75th AR 1898-99, xxxi.

¹⁷⁷Report of O.L. Kilborn in 73rd AR 1896-97, xcv.

hospital by reasonable fees."¹⁷⁸ These fees ranged from the equivalent of seven cents Canadian for one month's treatment to the equivalent of six and a half dollars Canadian for a serious operation. While these initial fees of twenty cash were not that large, those who felt unable to pay were not turned away. In fact, of the one hundred and twenty-six patients admitted to the Chengtu hospital from April 1897 to June 1898, only about thirty per cent paid in full for their board, while fifty per cent paid a small part and about twenty per cent paid nothing. The hospital was practically free to the poor while the rich were assessed on a basis conditioned by their ability to pay. The results were favorable to the financial position of the hospital. By 1899, seventy-five per cent of all expenses, excluding the doctor's salary, were paid by fees collected from patients using hospital facilities in Chengtu.¹⁷⁹

The medical missionaries viewed their hospitals as important institutions for evangelistic work. Every Chinese coming to the hospitals for the first time was presented with a Christian tract and the gospel was preached to the people gathered in the waiting rooms for a half hour preceding the opening of the dispensaries. Daily services were held in Chinese for the inpatients, and in the Chengtu hospital a native evangelist circulated about the wards teach-

¹⁷⁸Report of O.L. Kilborn in 74th AR 1897-98, xxxiii.

¹⁷⁹Report of W.E. Smith in 75th AR 1898-99, xxxiv.

ing the catechism. The wards and waiting rooms in both hospitals were decorated with hymns, scriptures and copies of the Lord's Prayer. In 1899 the Chengtu hospital made it compulsory that all inpatients memorize the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.

The doctors greatly aided in spreading the gospel. Drs. Kilborn and Smith, in particular, were of the opinion that their role as missionaries was two-fold. The General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1896 ordained Kilborn for special evangelical work,¹⁸⁰ and Smith worked diligently as an evangelist and medical missionary in 1899 and 1900.¹⁸¹ As doctors the medical missionaries made inroads among the peoples of central Szechwan and as evangelists their efforts reaped results more favorable than those obtained in the 1892-1895 period. Resistance among the Chinese slowly melted away as greater numbers of Chinese became aware of the mission's motives.

Mission co-operation in West China

By 1898, seven missionary societies were working in Szechwan. In an attempt to improve co-operation and to move towards closer federation for the establishment of a native Christian church, a meeting held in Chungking in January 1899 organized an Advisory Board of Reference and Cooperation

¹⁸⁰ AUCC:WCM, Box 2, Folder 27, Sutherland to Hart, 29 January 1897.

¹⁸¹ 76th AR 1899-1900, xxxi-xxxiii.

for the participating missions and divided the province into specific areas for each mission.¹⁸² Prior to 1899 each mission was free to establish work in any area of the province it deemed suitable. As a consequence several pockets of the province had upwards of four missionary societies working within it while other areas were totally neglected. In an attempt to avoid such duplication the province was divided and the Canadian mission was given the "heart of Szechwan", a triangular area of land extending from Penghsien southwards to Kiating and from Kiating eastwards to Luchow.¹⁸³ Omei was in the jurisdiction of the China Inland Mission and was given up by the West China Mission. The Canadians now found themselves directly responsible for over six million people.

The Advisory Board was to meet yearly to regulate the opening of new mission areas and to plan for cooperative mission work on the provincial level. The Chungking conference agreed upon the use of a "union" hymn book and established the West China Tract Society for the distribution of non-denominational religious literature. Plans were also laid for the publication of a monthly magazine in English, the West China Missionary News, a periodical which was to cover mission events in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan. This cooperative effort was the first step in a series of movements towards union which were with-

¹⁸²Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 109-111.

¹⁸³See Map IV.

in a decade to establish a West China Christian Education Union, a West China Union University and to spearhead a movement for one Protestant Chinese church in west China.

From evacuation to evacuation

For the most part the official opposition which impeded mission expansion from 1892 to 1895 was missing during the second period of Canadian work in Szechwan. Indeed, the cooperation received by Hart and Hartwell upon their return continued through the years between 1896 and 1900. Periodic postings of anti-foreign placards and the continued circulation of disquieting rumors did not subside, however, and the fear of renewed persecution did not altogether leave the missionaries. On the first anniversary of the 1895 riots, a small group of men assembled before the mission compound and amid anti-foreign choruses threw a few rocks.¹⁸⁴ An official was visiting the compound and he immediately set out for help from the police; but, before he returned with aid, the crowd dispersed. Hereafter neither mission center was threatened by mob action until 1900.

The most serious breach in the generally peaceful years between 1896 and 1900 erupted in mid 1898 when Yu Mantze began a concerted anti-foreign campaign.¹⁸⁵ From May of 1898 until his capture by government troops, more than a

¹⁸⁴72nd AR 1895-96, xxxvi; North China Herald, March 13, 1896, 398.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., May 16, 1898, 840.

year later, the rebel kept central Szechwan tense.¹⁸⁶ Although several Protestant missions were attacked in the region between Kiating and Chungking, the rebel's quarrel appeared to be directed almost solely against the Roman Catholic mission. Yu's antics created an embarrassing situation for the Chinese court in July, 1898, when he captured a French priest, Fleury, and held him for Tls. 10,000 in ransom.¹⁸⁷ The court, although reactionary to the encroachments of foreign governments, appeared determined to protect the foreign body.¹⁸⁸ On October 6, 1898, a decree called on the people to live peacefully with the foreigners and ordered official protection for all compounds. All officials, from the local authorities to the Viceroy and Governor, were warned that they would be held responsible for riots and outbursts because "of ineffective protection."¹⁸⁹ The Canadian mission and the other missions in Szechwan were given official protection and were provided with armed guards. No direct trouble came their way. A new Viceroy, Kuei Chun, the former taotai of Shanghai, arrived in Szechwan in November, 1898, and within several months forced the release of Fleury and succeeded in cap-

¹⁸⁶Ibid., passim, 1898-1899.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., August 1, 1898, 204.

¹⁸⁸Chester C. Tan, The Boxer Catastrophe (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967), 57.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 57-58.

turing Yu Man-tze.¹⁹⁰ Thereafter the threat of anti-foreign violence temporarily subsided.

For the remainder of 1899 and the early months of 1900 all departments of work carried on by the West China Mission reported expansion in the midst of favorable attitudes among the people of Szechwan. Indeed, for the first months in 1900 reports from the missionaries to the mission Executive in Toronto indicated that the Chinese "had never shown greater respect to the missionary, and had never been more responsive to his message."¹⁹¹ In the late spring and early summer of 1900 their passivity began to change as reports of the Boxer turmoil filtered into the "four-river" province.¹⁹²

In May, June and early July the Canadian mission found itself confronted by open and growing anti-foreign restlessness.¹⁹³ Several demonstrations paraded by their compounds as reports from Peking indicated that the foreign powers were making preparations to meet the Boxer threat with force in early June. The officials in Szechwan in 1900, unlike the officials in 1895, however, appeared determined

¹⁹⁰North China Herald, November 21, 1898, 939.

¹⁹¹76th AR 1899-1900, xxx.

¹⁹²For authoritative accounts of the Boxer uprising see Chester C. Tan, The Boxer Catastrophe and Victor Purcell, The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1963).

¹⁹³E.I. Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 335; Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 122; Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 78-79.

to protect the foreigners and their property.¹⁹⁴ Armed guards were posted around the various missions and several attempts were made to quell the people. The restlessness, nevertheless, continued and by late June attendances in the mission churches, hospitals and schools decreased substantially as many of the mission's native followers grew fearful of the consequences arising from close association with the foreigner. A similar apprehension over the uncertainty of the future came over the missionaries. In Kiating the missionaries had food and clothing "ready to beat a hasty retreat if the necessity arose."¹⁹⁵ Similar preparations were also made in Chengtu. And in both centers the dilemma of remaining in Szechwan or of evacuating the province became the chief topic of discussion.

Unlike May 1895 when the mission Executive had no knowledge of the riots until they had taken place, in July 1900 the Executive was closely following the events in north China. As violence continued in Chihli province the Executive grew increasingly concerned over the plight of their missionaries. In the second week of July, Sutherland wired the British Consul in Shanghai informing him that if he was apprehensive over the safety of the missionaries in Szechwan he should not hesitate to order the withdrawal of the Canadian missionaries.¹⁹⁶ On July 15, the British Consulate

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁹⁵Hart, Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman, 335.

¹⁹⁶AUCC:WCM, Box 2, Folder 29, Sutherland to Hart,

ordered the evacuation of all non-official British subjects from the province of Szechwan.¹⁹⁷ The Canadian missionaries replied that the everchanging conditions presently appeared outwardly normal and that they chose to remain in their compounds.¹⁹⁸ The Consulate replied with another order and on July 19 the Canadians agreed to leave. Before they left full authority over their compounds and their contents was given to the city Magistrates in both Chengtu and Kiating. On August 11, the eight Canadian missionaries and their families arrived in Shanghai.¹⁹⁹

Conclusions

For the second time in five years a band of Canadian missionaries was forced to leave the work it had travelled half way around the world to undertake. On both occasions, in 1895 and in 1900, the possibility of death in the face of uncontrolled violence was ever present. Yet, if both evacuations were characterized by the threat of death, the factors forcing the departure of the Canadian body and the results of the work carried on in the years previous to 1895 and 1900 indicate little similarity.

28 July 1900.

¹⁹⁷Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 79.

¹⁹⁸Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 122.

¹⁹⁹Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 79. The Canadians left in a group with other British subjects. In all they totalled thirty-seven men, women and children and were accompanied to Chungking by an official escort of eighty soldiers.

In July of 1900 the Canadian missionaries left Szechwan as a result of violent events nearly two thousand miles away. While several anti-foreign demonstrations were aimed directly at the Canadians, they did not feel the pain and humiliation of the violence and destruction which shook their property in 1895. A most important difference between the 1895 and 1900 evacuations was the role of the authorities in both Chengtu and Kiating. In 1895 the West China Mission credited particular officials with full responsibility for the troubles; in 1900 the opposite was true as this same body of officials was credited with guarding the safety of both the missionaries and their property. In the aftermath of the 1900 evacuation one official in particular, Chou Fu, the Provincial Treasurer, was singled out by Hartwell as being the man most responsible for influencing the Viceroy of Szechwan to ignore Peking's declaration of war on all foreigners.²⁰⁰ On Chou Fu's advice Viceroy Kuei Chun followed the pattern taken by Li Hung-chang in Canton, Liu K'un-i in Nanking, Chang Chih-tung in Wuhan and Yuan Shih-k'ai in Shantung and suppressed rather than appeased anti-foreign elements.

As equally significant to the protection given the persons of the foreigners was the protection given the Canadian compounds by the local officials. Full authority over the mission premises was passed into the hands of the

²⁰⁰Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 122.

city Magistrates in both Chengtu and Kiating. Upon the missionaries return a year later they found their compounds undisturbed and ready for almost complete occupation.

Of the work continued by the Canadian mission in the 1896-1900 period education faired the worst. A lack of funds, a shortage of adequately trained personnel and the need for more time did not permit the missionaries to devote the energies they believed the schools deserved. The students registered in both Chengtu and Kiating were, however, receiving the basis of a proto-western education. Several Chinese were following a program of study begun in the first year that the schools were opened and several others were playing a responsible role as teachers and assistants in the training of younger students. It was not until the third period in the history of the mission that attention paralleling the demands of the missionaries was forwarded this area of work.

The medical department continued to attract increasing numbers of Chinese from the very poor to the very rich. Its impact upon the people of Szechwan in the pioneering years of the West China Mission greatly impressed upon the mission Executive in Toronto a belief that the growth of the mission would directly parallel the growth and expansion of the medical department. In the 1896-1900 period only three men, three doctors, were sent to China by the Missionary Society. The medical missionaries intensified their efforts in the 1896-1900 period in an attempt to win

as many Chinese over to the Christian gospel as possible. Every person visiting the dispensaries was told of Christianity and given a tract to read. When the reader realizes that over eight thousand visits were paid to the hospitals in the year previous to the departure of the Canadians it is not difficult to speculate that the "phenomenal" Sunday congregations reported attending the churches in early 1900 were in a small way, at least, a result of the dual nature of the work carried on by the medical missionaries.

No one area of work was as singularly important to the missionaries as evangelization. Their primary purpose for being in China was the extension of Christianity and the four years from 1896 to 1900 witnessed a fruition of their efforts with the baptisms of the mission's first converts. On the eve of their withdrawal from Szechwan in 1895 not one Chinese was listed as baptized. By 1900 the situation was very different as nearly three dozen Chinese were listed as baptized and nearly five hundred more were listed as "inquirers" and "probationers". Of more significance and satisfaction to the Canadian Methodist Mission than these numbers was the fact that many of the practicing Chinese were also active workers. As teachers, printers, medical assistants and evangelists they laid the basis for their own native church. Their enthusiasm for the new faith did not subside in the absence of the missionaries as they continued to hold service meetings and continued to publicize the

message spread by the Canadians. The 1896-1900 period saw not only the "harvesting" of the West China Mission's first "crop" but the planting of interest among growing numbers of Chinese.

CHAPTER V

A DECADE OF GROWTH, 1901-1911

Of the eight missionaries who left Szechwan in mid 1900 only five returned to resume their work with the Canadian West China Mission. Two doctors, H.M. Hare and W. Stephens retired from mission work and returned to Canada accompanied by their ailing superintendent V.C. Hart. Hart anticipated returning to China upon the renewal of his health, but such was not to be the case. In early 1904 he passed away at the age of sixty-four. The five men who did return, O.L. Kilborn, W.E. Smith, R.B. Ewan, J. Endicott and G.E. Hartwell, arrived in Chengtu and Kiating between September 1901 and March 1902. They were joined by a newcomer to China, the Rev. W.J. Mortimore, and in May 1902 met in Chengtu for the seventh Annual Council of the mission.

The discussions at the Annual Council revealed that the responsibilities assumed by the mission were beyond the means of only six men.²⁰¹ Responsibility for two churches, two hospitals, two schools, classes for young men desiring lessons in English, several bookrooms and street chapels,

²⁰¹ AUCC:WCM, Box 10, Folder 129, "Annual Councils, 1894-1911", 3.

and itinerant work among six million people was undertaken in the years prior to the evacuation in 1900. These responsibilities remained in 1902 and were enlarged by new directives from the Methodist Church of Canada. For the first time in the ten year history of its mission the Canadian Church not only felt that it could, but that it should, provide greater aid to the mission.²⁰² The return of prosperity to the Canadian economy and the impact of the Boxer Rebellion impressed the Church's Executive of the need for new initiatives and greater involvement in China:

The Church is now called upon to prepare for the greatest Forward Movement yet attempted in China. Some of the best authorities declare it as their belief that out of the old a New China is about to come. The agonies through which that country is passing may possibly prove not merely the death-throes of the old but the birth-pangs of the new. The hope of China, however, is not to be found in herself. If ever saved from the complete collapse which threatens her, China's salvation cannot come from the East - it must come from the West.²⁰³

The Church called on its congregations to realize the need for increased financial responsibility towards China and as a first objective emphasized the need for the placement of at least one missionary in each of the walled cities surrounding Chengtu.²⁰⁴ Volunteers were advertised for and in December 1902 three men, an evangelist, J.L. Stewart, and two doctors, W.F. Adams and C.W. Smith,

²⁰²From an editorial by the Mission Executive in 77th AR 1900-1901, xxviii.

²⁰³Ibid., xxvii-xxviii.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

arrived in Szechwan. By 1911, less than a decade after the Methodist Church raised this concern, its efforts were represented by both a tenfold increase in the operating budget of the mission and in a tenfold increase in the number of Canadian missionaries in Szechwan. The Chinese also responded to these enlarged overtures. The pioneer Canadian missionary, George Hartwell, regarded the first decade of the twentieth century as "the golden period of evangelistic work" among the Chinese.²⁰⁵

The Council had hardly adjourned, however, when violence in the form of renewed Boxer outbreaks threatened to disrupt the generally cordial relations existing between the majority of Chinese and the returning foreigner. Throughout 1902 small bands of armed rebels terrorized mission compounds and attacked native Christians in various parts of the province.²⁰⁶ As the summer wore on the intensity of their persecutions grew. They reached a climax with attacks on Chengtu in August and September.²⁰⁷ In late September, a new Viceroy, Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan, one of the men responsible for escorting the court to Sian in 1900, arrived in the provincial capital.²⁰⁸ He immediately issued strongly-worded proclamations

²⁰⁵Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 126.

²⁰⁶Ibid., 147; Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 85-87; Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 536 and 615; North China Herald, 1902, passim; The Chinese Recorder, 1902, passim.

²⁰⁷Ibid., vol. xxxiii (1902), 585.

²⁰⁸Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 745.

condemning the outbreaks. Within weeks an energetic program of rebel suppression brought the situation back to normal. During the troubles some two thousand Chinese Christians were killed; one of these, a Mr. Jay, became the Canadian Methodist Mission's first martyr.²⁰⁹ With the suppression of this movement the province of Szechwan experienced eight years of relative peace.

Evangelization of the Chinese, 1901-1911

I. The golden period of evangelical work

A most significant aspect of Canadian work in Szechwan during the first decade of the twentieth century was the rapid growth in both the number of missionaries associated with the mission and the number of dollars allotted to the operation of the mission. By 1905 the number of Canadian missionaries grew to twelve, by 1907 their number was increased to twenty-three, by 1909 forty-four Canadians were working in Szechwan, and on the eve of the mission's third exodus from Szechwan the number of Canadian missionaries reached sixty-eight (see Appendix III).²¹⁰ The expenditures

²⁰⁹Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 86-87; Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 146-147.

²¹⁰As the work of the mission became more varied the home church began sending out men and women with very specialized training. In 1907 the Canadian mission became the first church society to send a dental missionary, A.W. Lindsay, to a foreign country. In 1907 a professional printer, S.P. Westaway, also arrived in Chengtu. In 1908 A.T. Crutcher arrived as the mission accountant; M.A. Brillinger arrived as the mission's first pharmacist; Miss L.A. Ker joined the mission as a teacher to the missionaries' children; and two nurses, Misses M.E. Switzer

on the mission paralleled the growth in the number of missionaries. From a \$10,000 budget in 1901, spendings grew steadily until they surpassed the \$100,000 mark in 1911 (see Appendix II). In respect to the percentage of the total budget of the Missionary Society the expenditures on the China mission represented a growth from 3.9% in 1902 to 19.2% in 1911.

For the decade after 1901 the mission succeeded in winning the confidence of Chinese in numbers only envisioned by the missionaries in the years before the Boxer upheaval. During the first year after his return to Chengtu, W.E. Smith received one hundred applications for baptisms,²¹¹ and in his annual report for 1902-03, Kilborn wrote enthusiastically "never before in the history of our West China Mission have the opportunities and the promise of work in all departments been so great as at present."²¹² Yearly reports from missionaries in both Chengtu and Kiating consistently noted that seating capacities in the churches were taxed to a maximum. In actuality, the number of Chinese accepting Christianity and joining the Church in these two centers offered little grounds for such statements. The number of baptized members in Chengtu did not double the

and E.B. Plewman, began working in the Chengtu hospital. In 1910 another specialist, F.E.L. Abrey, an architect, became superintendent of building operations.

²¹¹Report of W.E. Smith in 78th AR 1901-02, xxvi.

²¹²Report of O.L. Kilborn in 79th AR 1902-03, xxxi.

1899 figure of twenty-six until 1908.²¹³ Over this same nine year period baptized membership in Kiating rose from only four to twenty-one.²¹⁴ If Hartwell could describe the first decade of the twentieth century as the "golden period of evangelical work" proof for his statement rests not in the growth experienced in Chengtu and Kiating, but in the growth experienced in the newly opened mission stations and outstations.

A combination of both a desire to comply with the directives from the Methodist Church in Canada and a desire to open new areas to evangelical work prompted the mission to establish five new stations and over fifty new outstations between 1905 and 1908. The first new mission station was opened in 1905 in Jenshow, a city midway between Chengtu and Kiating. Two arrivals to China in 1903, the Rev. A.C. Hoffman and Dr. J.R. Cox, took up the work.²¹⁵

²¹³"Evangelistic Work" in 84th AR 1907-08, 24.

²¹⁴Ibid.

²¹⁵The Canadian West China Mission was invited to open a mission station in Jenshow by several members of that city's gentry who also donated a compound to the new mission. Scarcely, however, had Hoffman and Cox moved into this property before they found that mercenary motives were behind both the invitation and the donation. It appeared that the Roman Catholic Church was interfering in lawsuits on behalf of its members some of whom had gained concessions at the expense of the men who invited the Canadians. This latter group felt that the Methodists would act as a strong opposition to the Roman Catholic Church. Such, however, was not to be the case. The Canadians had hitherto avoided interference on behalf of a Chinese unless the situation was clearly identified as religious persecution and made this policy clear to the men who provided the compound. The Canadians remained in the city and within sev-

In that same year, Junghsien, a walled city to the south-east of Kiating was also opened as a mission center by Dr. W.E. Smith and Rev. R.O. Jolliffe.²¹⁶ In 1907 the city of Tzeliutsing, in the heart of Szechwan's saltwell district, was opened by R.O. Jolliffe, Rev. G.W. Sparling and Dr. W.J. Sheridan.²¹⁷ In early 1908, George Hartwell, W.E. Sibley and Dr. W. Crawford moved into property in Penhsien²¹⁸ and in the fall of 1908, Luchow, a city one hundred and thirty miles to the west of Chungking was opened by Rev. C.J. Jolliffe.²¹⁹ Each of the seven mission stations, Chengtu, Kiating, Jenshow, Junghsien, Tzeliutsing, Penhsien and Luchow became the administrative center for Christian work carried out in the area surrounding it. Map IV denotes the boundaries of these districts.

The last year between 1901 and 1911 for which a statistical report for the evangelistic department is available is 1908. Table 2 allows the reader to see where the gains which permitted Hartwell to call this decade "the golden age of evangelization" were made. Both Jenshow and Jungh-

eral years had one of the most active congregations in Szechwan. A similar experience did not accompany the opening of the other mission stations. See the report of G.E. Hartwell in 81st AR 1904-05, xxxvii-xxxix; Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 136-39; and Our West China Mission, 178-79.

²¹⁶Report of W.E. Smith in 82nd AR 1905-06, xl-xliii.

²¹⁷84th AR 1907-08, 31.

²¹⁸Ibid., 29-30. Penhsien is also spelled Penghsien.

²¹⁹Our West China Mission, 217.

sien reported memberships of baptized Chinese several times as large as the membership in Chengtu despite the fact that the latter city was opened as a mission station thirteen years earlier than the former two. Even Penhsien which did not receive its first resident missionary until a few months before these statistics were tabulated reported a baptized following more than 20% larger than that found in Chengtu and more than 300% larger than that found in Kiating. The total church membership as of March 31, 1908 was listed as 1,523. Two years later the total church membership reached

TABLE II

STATISTICAL REPORT OF THE EVANGELISTIC WORK
OF THE WEST CHINA MISSION, MARCH 31, 1908

Departments	Chengtu	Kiating	Jenshow	Junghsien	Tzeliutsing	Penhsien	Total
Outstations.....	1	2	14	20	10	10	57
Foreign missionaries.....	12	4	3	4	3	3	29
Unordained Chinese preachers.	10	3	11	4	2	2	34
Membership ---							
Full members.....	54	21	116	167	52	70	480
Probationers.....	22	3	56	100	66	20	267
Catechumens.....	24	6	27	3	..	50	110
Inquirers.....	43	15	173	300	135	..	666
Grand totals.....	143	45	372	570	253	140	1523

Source: 84th AR 1907-08, 24.

1,625.²²⁰

Any explanation for the growing popularity of the Canadian West China Mission on the Chengtu plain would have to credit the work of the itinerant missionaries. For over a decade evangelists and doctors had made periodic tours preaching and distributing literature. Many Chinese found both physical and spiritual aid and many took advantage of the mission's bookrooms and hospitals. Not a few returned to their homes with enthusiasm for Christianity. Finding others with feelings similar to their own they formed Christian units and invited the missionaries to visit and guide them. The result of a missionary's visit often was the establishment of an outstation under the supervision of a lay Christian Chinese. These outstations became the centers of Christian activity on the Chengtu plain and the real avenues through which the Church grew in central Szechwan. They formed the heart of the mission and their small congregations were as enthusiastic as any new Christian congregation anywhere. R.B. McAmmond's description of a revival meeting held in Jenshow in 1908 is typical of a score of missionary descriptions of such meetings:

Ah, those were hours of confession! They shocked and horrified us missionaries, as we listened to confessions of the depths of iniquity into which the devil had led them.... It was good to be there, though in a sense it seemed like bedlam. Some cried, "Now I know what the missionaries have been talking about, concerning the witness of the Spirit in the heart, my heart is hot;" while others wailed,

"Oh, how my conscience pains!" Others wept and some, unable to endure it any longer, rushed to the front and, gripping the altar railing in their extremity, begged some near by pastor to pray for them. Miss Hambley took her boarding-school girls off to another part of the building; they were under such deep conviction of sin and wept so bitterly she could do nothing with them in the open service. There was no order to the meeting, and yet there was no disorder, for every soul felt subdued under "The mighty hand of God."²²¹

By 1908 fifty-seven outstations existed under the auspices of the Canadian mission. Their membership numbered more than two-thirds of the total mission membership.²²²

II. Towards a Chinese Christian Church

O.L. Kilborn and J. Endicott attended the Centenary Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in 1907 to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Robert Morrison in China and met with two representatives from the Methodist Church of Canada, the President of the Missionary Society, A. Carman, and the General Secretary of Foreign Missions, A. Sutherland. All four men agreed that the Canadian mission should waste little time in guiding their Chinese congregations towards the development of their own Church.²²³ They further voiced this opinion at two conferences of the Szechwan Protestant societies held in October 1907 and January 1908. These latter meetings set forth resolutions calling for one Protestant Church for West China

²²¹Kilborn, Our West China Mission, 182.

²²²85th AR 1908-09, 26.

²²³AUCC:WCM, Box 10, Folder 129, "Chinese Church Organization". 23.

and as a first step towards this end resolved that baptized Chinese could transfer their membership from one Protestant Church to another Protestant Church without examination from the new Church they chose to join.²²⁴ Although the mission societies of Szechwan expressed strong desire for one non-denominational Protestant Church for the Chinese no actual guidelines or program was formulated. The foreign missionaries wanted the Chinese Christians to organize their own Church. Such an organization would, however, have to await the presence of an active and well trained body of Chinese evangelists.²²⁵

While several Chinese were partially familiar with the basic administration of the Canadian Methodist Mission by 1908, none were viewed as being totally prepared to take the lead in laying the ground work for their own Church. In an attempt to make larger numbers of Chinese familiar with the operation of the mission the fourteenth Annual Council recommended in 1909 that the mission's administrative organization follow a structure similar to that found in Canada.²²⁶ The mission emphasized, however, that this

²²⁴84th AR 1907-08, 24-25.

²²⁵Ibid.; G.J. Bond, "The Conference", The West China Missionary News, X (March, 1908), 15; "Federation or Church Union", Ibid., XII (May, 1910), 4-5.

²²⁶AUCC:WCM, Box 10, Folder 129, "Chinese Church Organization", 23. The territory under the supervision of a senior foreign evangelist was to be constituted a "district" and was to be made up of several or more "circuits" of approximately equal size and population. Each "circuit" was to be under the supervision of another evangelist. A

structure did not have to be permanent. It was accepted with the belief that it would provide effective administration for the immediate future; and with the specific objective of introducing more Chinese to the actual operation of the mission. The Church that the Chinese were to be encouraged to build was to be free to develop "an organization suited to her own circumstances, and to the particular genius and spirit of her own people."²²⁷

The first step towards the training of Chinese evangelists was taken in 1905 when Hartwell, Mortimore and J.L. Stewart began organizing study classes in theology for those Chinese working as helpers to the missionaries.²²⁸ Several of these men expressed their desire to become ordained evangelists and in 1908 the mission formulated a program for them. The initial program called for nine years of study and work. In 1911 its length was increased two years to eleven years.²²⁹ A man desiring to become ordained was

"Quarterly Board" whose membership included all evangelists, helpers and a number of lay representatives from each congregation within the "circuit" was to meet periodically to deal with "circuit" problems. "District" meetings with representation from all evangelists, helpers and lay representatives from the "Quarterly Boards" were to meet periodically to deal with problems which affected the whole "district" and to make recommendations to the Annual Council of the mission, the general meeting of representatives from all "districts". See Map IV for the "districts".

²²⁷Ibid., 25.

²²⁸Reports of G.E. Hartwell, W.J. Mortimore and J. L. Stewart in 82nd AR 1905-06, xxxix, xxxi-xxxii, and xxxiv, respectively.

²²⁹85th AR 1908-09, 23-24; AUCC:WCM, "Annual Councils, 1894-1911", 16-17.

expected to spend his first two years working as a helper to a missionary, his third year in "circuit" work, his next three years studying in the newly opened college, his seventh and eighth years in "circuit" work, his ninth and tenth years back in college, and his final year before ordination back in "circuit" work. Financial support was given to all students on a scale dependent on their marital status and the number of years of completed training. No married man could be ordained unless his wife was also a Christian and as a corollary to this program the mission established a school for the wives of these students. The school offered courses, taught by the wives of the missionaries, in religion, housekeeping, hygiene, children care, music and pastoral visitation.²³⁰ In 1908 eight Chinese were working as helpers.²³¹ By 1911 the number of students had risen to sixty-one, thirteen of whom were studying in the newly opened West China Union University.²³²

III. Enlargement of the mission field

A special meeting of the Szechwan Advisory Council was held in 1907 for the purpose of discussing the possibility of enlarging the scope of Christian work in Szechwan, Yunnan and Kweichow. A delegation from the Canadian Methodist Mission attended the meeting and shortly thereafter recom-

²³⁰Our West China Mission, 342-343.

²³¹84th AR 1907-08, 29.

²³²87th AR 1910-11, 8.

mended to their home church that nine men be given the responsibility of opening Canadian mission work in Yunnan and Kweichow.²³³ The mission also assigned two missionaries, W.J. Mortimore and C.W. Service, to an investigation of the possibilities for work among the Nosu or Lolo tribes in southwestern Szechwan. Mortimore and Service, however, advised against this latter involvement.²³⁴

The movement for expansion beyond the borders of Szechwan was suddenly dampered in mid 1908 when the London Missionary Society approached the Missionary Society of the Canadian Methodist Church and offered to transfer its sphere of work in southeastern Szechwan to the Canadian mission.²³⁵ The British mission found its work in China over-extended and in the face of financial difficulties felt unable to continue its work in Szechwan. In view of its own need to build churches, houses, schools and hospitals in the centers opened since 1905, and the high cost of expanding to Yunnan and Kweichow, the Canadian West China Mission decided it was more feasible to take over the work in southeast Szechwan

²³³84th AR 1907-08, 25-26. The 1908 Annual Council appointed Kilborn and Endicott to survey the opportunities for Canadian work in Kweichow and Yunnan respectively. They reported back highly in favor of expansion to these two provinces.

²³⁴85th AR 1908-09, 19. The China Inland Mission and the United Methodist Mission were already working among these tribes. Mortimore and Stewart felt that Canadian involvement would result in unnecessary overlapping of both activities and facilities.

²³⁵AUCC:WCM, Box 3, Folder 37, George Cousin, The Joint Secretary of the London Missionary Society, to A. Sutherland, 19 August 1908.

and recommended to the home church that the latter enter into negotiations with the British society. Negotiations continued through 1908 and 1909 before culminating in the transfer on March 31, 1910.²³⁶ The London Missionary Society field stretched two hundred miles along the Yangtze and included such major centers as Chungking, Chungchow and Fowchow. Its Christian membership numbered nearly five hundred.

Two of the three missionaries associated with the London Missionary Society, the Rev. J. Parker and Dr. R. Wolfendale, men with twenty and fifteen years of experience in Szechwan, severed their relation with the English mission and joined the Canadian society. The Canadian missionaries recommended for a good number of years after 1910 that they establish missions in Yunnan and Kweichow; but, with their enlarged sphere in Szechwan they found the task impossible to undertake.

The Canadian Methodist Mission Press

In the absence of Virgil Hart, James Endicott took over the Press work. A backlog of incompletd orders greeted him upon his return to Kiating and with orders for Christian literature continuing to arrive the Press found its facilities unable to fill these requests despite the arrival of

²³⁶Ibid., Cousin to Sutherland, 17 December 1908; Sutherland to Kilborn, 30 December 1908; Ibid., Box 3, Folder 38, Sutherland to Kilborn, 20 October 1909; Ibid., Sutherland to Hartwell, 3 February 1910. See Map III for the area in question.

two new presses in 1903.²³⁷ The need for a new building resulted in a decision by the mission to move the Press to Chengtu. A two-storied building with a floor space of ten thousand square feet was constructed and in late 1904 the equipment and stock were moved upriver. The new building was officially opened on April 5, 1905, with an array of Chinese officials including the Viceroy of Szechwan, his Tartar-General, his Judge, his Treasurer and the Prefect of Chengtu in attendance.²³⁸

Another evangelist, James Neave, joined Endicott in the Press work and within a year after the Press' relocation in Chengtu nearly ten million pages of literature were printed.²³⁹ The Press also began printing in three languages other than Chinese. English and Miao type were added in 1906 and in 1908 Tibetan type was obtained. With English type in its stock the Press received the contract for publishing the West China Missionary News, the monthly periodical begun in 1900 by the union minded Protestant missions of west China. In 1907 the Press initiated the publication of a monthly journal in Chinese, the Magazine, devoted to the interests of a Chinese Christian Church.

²³⁷Report of J. Endicott in 79th AR 1902-03, xxxviii.

²³⁸Report of J. Endicott in 81st AR 1904-05, xliii-xlv; Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 180-181. The Tartar-General was apparently so enthusiastic about the opening of the building that he loaned his military band to the missionaries for the opening ceremonies.

²³⁹Report of J. Endicott in 82nd AR 1905-06, xxxvi-xxxvii.

In 1907 the Press' facilities were again enlarged when a bookroom serving as both a repository for literature printed by the Press and as a retail outlet for imported books and magazines was opened. In the fall of that year the first professional printer sent out by the Methodist Church of Canada, S. Westaway, joined the Press staff of two missionaries and thirty-two Chinese printers. In 1911, a second printer, T.E. Plewman, joined the Press.

As an evangelistic and educational medium the importance of the Press cannot be dismissed. It was responsible for publishing literature for nine missionary societies. It printed a monthly periodical with news from Reuters news-service, it printed a periodical for Chinese interested in building their own Christian Church, and it printed and stocked books and magazines for Chinese interested in western culture and civilization. By 1911 the Press' two printers and fifty Chinese printers were publishing well over one hundred thousand pages a day, a tenfold increase in the number of pages printed before it was moved to Chengtu.

Involvement with education, 1901-1911

Hart and Hartwell's earlier appeals to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church for a missionary trained in the field of education were finally answered in the fall of 1902 when J.L. Stewart joined the mission in Chengtu. The school in the provincial capital had been re-opened by Kilborn during the fall of the previous year and for the two years Stewart spent in language study Kilborn continued to

supervise the school work.²⁴⁰ By the time Stewart felt he was sufficiently versed in Chinese to assume control of the Chengtu school a new era in Chinese education had begun.

In September 1905 the civil service examination system, for so long a pillar of Chinese tradition, was unceremoniously abolished by the court.²⁴¹ In its place China adopted a nationwide educational system based on Japanese and western models.²⁴² A hierarchy of schools on all the territorial levels of government was to be established with

²⁴⁰The pressure of evangelical and medical work as well as educational work did not permit Kilborn to spend much time in the school. The yearly enrollments were small: 30 boys attended the school in 1901 and 1902; 20 in 1903; and 23 in 1904. Although the co-educational school in Kiating had been kept open by a Chinese Christian during the year the missionaries were away, attendances were only slightly larger than those in Chengtu between 1901 and 1904: 43 in 1901; 35 in 1902; 36 in 1903; and 37 in 1904. Mrs. W. E. Smith supervised the school in 1901 and 1902. In 1903 and 1904 Miss M.A. Foster of the Woman's Missionary Society took over most of the educational work in Kiating. Our West China Mission, 314; see also the yearly reports of the missionaries, 1901-02 to 1904-05, in passim.

²⁴¹For a description of the examination system and education in traditional China see Chang-Tu Hu, Chinese Education under Communism (New York: Teachers College, 1962), 3-17; and Y.C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872-1949 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 3-37.

²⁴²Meribeth E. Cameron has outlined the school system adopted between 1904 and 1911 as follows:

"Kindergartens (or Lower Primary Schools).- At first one for every community of 100 or more families, the aim being to have ultimately an average of one for each 200 families in the country. Boys up to the age of seven were to be admitted free. The chief subjects of study were to be Chinese classics and literature, supplemented by morals, reading and writing, arithmetic, geography, history and gymnastics. Private persons were urged to found schools of this and the following types to supplement those opened by the government, such private schools being allowed to charge fees.

the explicit aim of training and selecting officials more effectively. The content and the control of the school system adopted between 1904 and 1911 was to be primarily Chinese. The court made it clear that no religious view other than the Confucian ethics was to be tolerated and no school controlled by foreigners was to be accorded official recognition. Other reforms barred graduates from non-recognized

Higher (or Second-Grade) Primary Schools.- One of these was to be provided for every district (hsien), with a maximum of 400 families to any one such school. The five-year course of study was to be a continuation of that in the kindergarten, plus drawing and the learning of patriotic songs. A small tuition was to be charged, even in government schools. Where desirable, the kindergarten and higher primary school might be united to form a double primary school.

Middle (or First-Grade Primary) Schools.- The system provided for one in each prefecture (fu). Here the chief emphasis was to be placed on foreign languages during the four-year course, Japanese or English being compulsory. The degree of hsui tsai (B.A.) was to be conferred on students who completed this course and passed the final examination.

Provincial Colleges (or High Schools).- Of these there was to be one in each provincial capital. They were to offer a three-year course, with a choice of three courses of study - arts, sciences or medicine. English, French, and German were to be taught. Those who finished the course and passed the examination were to be given the degree of lin sheng (distinguished B.A.).

The Imperial University at Peking.- The work here was to be divided into a three-year course of study for the degree of chu jen (M.A.) and a four- or five-year post-graduate course at the end of which or after the imperial examinations the degree of chin shih (Ph.D.) would be granted. There were to be eight faculties-classics, jurisprudence, arts, medicine, science, agronomy, civil engineering, commerce. Tuition was to be charged for the three-year course but not for the post-graduate.

Special Courses.- There were to be industrial schools, schools of agriculture, a special school of foreign languages to train interpreters and translators, special schools of law and political science for prospective officials, and a three-year course for those who had just won the chin shih degree under the old system. Every depart-

schools from public service examinations. In 1909 these graduates were also excluded from voting for the proposed provincial assemblies. Public education was not made compulsory and little regard was given to the education of girls and women.

Peking's reform edicts did not greatly deter the work of the Canadian Methodist Mission which was itself spearheading a movement for educational reform in Szechwan. In 1904 the Canadians were one of three missionary societies teaching middle school level courses in Chengtu. As reports of the proposed government reforms began reaching Chengtu, the other two societies, the English Friends and the American Methodists, joined with the Canadians in voicing concern for the post middle school education of their students.²⁴³ The nearest Christian college was in Wuchang, a thousand miles away, and all three felt that if their students enrolled in the proposed provincial college it would be difficult for these students to con-

mental city was to establish a second-grade normal school, and every provincial capital a first-grade one.

Certain special regulations for the conduct of teachers and pupils were also set forth. No instructor was to be permitted to teach his religious views, the ethics taught to be those of Confucianism. This eliminated the missionaries per se. The students were forbidden to use opium and to interfere in government affairs, which later prohibition was not strictly obeyed. In all schools uniforms were to be worn and military drill taught, a most significant indication of the rise of things military in general estimation." See M.E. Cameron, The Reform Movement in China 1898-1912 (New York: Octagon Books, 1963), 71-72.

²⁴³ Joseph Taylor, History of the West China Union University 1910-1935 (Chengtu: Canadian Mission Press, 1936), 8-10.

tinue practicing their Christian faith. In the fall of 1904 the three missions began discussing the possibility of organizing a Christian college in Chengtu.

In May 1905 their representatives met with the Szechwan Advisory Council and proposed that a Christian college be established in Chengtu. Not all of the missions represented at the meeting had middle schools, however, and several voiced more interest in a common course of study and common standards for all Christian primary and middle schools in the province than in a college. As a result the Advisory Council passed a resolution "having for its aims the unification of all educational work and the founding of a Christian University at Chengtu."²⁴⁴ The resolution was followed by the setting up of two organizations later in the year: A Committee on Primary and Secondary Education (or the West China Christian Education Union) whose primary concern was the establishment of a Christian hierarchy of schools from the kindergarten to the middle school level; and A Temporary Board of Management for the Union University (in 1910 it became the Senate of the University) whose concern was the establishment of a Christian University in Chengtu. The Canadian Methodist Mission became actively involved in both organizations.

For the "sake of harmony" the Committee on Primary and Secondary Education decided to follow both the organizational structure and the curriculum of the new Chinese

²⁴⁴Ibid., 11.

education system.²⁴⁵ In theory its schools were to differ from the government schools in only two respects: they were foreign controlled and they included compulsory religious instruction. At the lower and higher primary grade levels mission union in education amounted to little more than the teaching of common subjects and the following of similar standards in grading. Each mission continued teaching its own small number of students, in its own small school, with its special missionary teacher and hired Chinese teachers. Actual union in education, that is, the bringing together of students from different missions into one classroom, did not take place until 1909 when a union middle school was opened in Chengtu.

Before we discuss the opening of the first union school in Chengtu, let us firstly look at the experience of the Canadian school in Chengtu between 1906 and 1908. J.L. Stewart's account is interesting for it not only notes the problems encountered by the school, but, also reveals several of the difficulties experienced by the government recognized schools:

Two years ago we were on the high tide of the educational movement which followed on the issuing of the great reform edict. Nearly two hundred students rushed into our schools in Chengtu, willing to accept any accommodation, eager to study anything. The decree had said that in future officials were to be selected from the schools, and each aspirant saw wealth, fame and power before him. To their thought this Western education could be mastered in a few months, or years, at most, and then all was open.

²⁴⁵Our West China Mission, 323.

Then came the decree from Peking stating that only degrees of Government schools would be recognized. Almost as quickly as they came our students began to quit us for Government institutions. We asked permission to register ours as private schools, scores of which had been opened by the gentry, but were refused. The Spring term of 1907 saw our attendance reduced to fifty in all three grades.

This last six months the tide has turned again. For the Government schools it has been, unfortunately, a partial reverse. It has been found in some cases difficult to finance the institutions, and fees have had to be charged. Teachers, too, could not be found adequate for the work, even those returning after a few months in Japan naturally soon reaching their limitations. More serious still, numbers of students discovered that Western knowledge could not be mastered with a rush, but was a matter of years of study and outlay, and that, moreover, it was not an assured opening to official preferment. As a result numbers of private schools have closed, and scattered here and there all over the Province are Government primary schools stopped for want of funds, teachers or students.²⁴⁶

This account was written in the spring of 1908. Eighty students were attending the Canadian school.

At about the same time that Stewart wrote this report, sixty acres of land were purchased by the Canadian Methodist Mission and three other missions for the university site. The area, outside of the city limits midway between the East and South Gates, was divided into six equal sections and one section, the central section, was set aside for the control of the university. The remaining five sections were re-sold to the four partner missions that had originally purchased the land: the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the American Baptist Mission, and the Friends' Foreign Mission of Great Britain and Ireland each

²⁴⁶ Report of J.L. Stewart in 84th AR 1907-08, 28.

purchased one ten acre section while the Canadian Methodist Mission purchased two sections. Each mission was responsible for its own area and was to construct a college with suitable buildings for both teaching and living purposes. Each mission was also to supply one or more teachers for the university faculty and was to put all of its teaching facilities at the disposal of the university.

In the spring of 1909 the American Methodists, the British Friends and the Canadian Methodists, initiated actual union in education by moving their middle school classes to the university site and uniting their students under a common staff. A union middle school was set up as an experiment to see how successful this type of cooperative education would be. It proved highly efficient and successful. Shortly after the opening of the middle school the Temporary Board of Management for the Union University scheduled the beginning of university classes for March 11, 1910.

The West China Union University was the twelfth Christian college or university opened in China since 1882.²⁴⁷ Its aim was clearly stated:

²⁴⁷For a discussion of the growth of Christian colleges in China between 1882 and 1912 see Kwang-Ching Liu, "Early Christian Colleges in China", The Journal of Asian Studies, vol. XX, No. 1 (November, 1960), 71-78. For brief histories of the West China Union University see Joseph Beech, "University", West China Border Research Society Journal, vol. 6, 1933-1934, 91-104; and Joseph Taylor, History of the West China Union University. Dr. Lewis Walmsley, a Canadian Methodist and a former teacher at the West China Union University, is presently writing a history of it.

The object of the University shall be the advancement of the Kingdom of God, by means of higher education in West China under Christian auspices.

(a) By providing such facilities for the education of Chinese or others, connected with the various missions in West China, as shall enable them to take their place among the educated classes of the day;

(b) By affording means for the education of other youth of all classes.²⁴⁸

Three courses of study were offered: 1) General Arts Course; 2) Course in Science; and 3) Course in Pedagogy. Chinese and English were the languages used in teaching and all three programs included compulsory religious instruction. Eleven students registered for the university's initial term. Seven were still enrolled, in addition to the thirteen evangelical students being trained by the Canadians, in the fall of 1911 when the university was closed and the missionaries were forced to leave Szechwan for the third time since 1895.

The Canadian Methodist Mission did not restrict its interest in education to the Chengtu middle school and the West China Union University.²⁴⁹ Between 1904 and 1910 fifty-five lower primary schools and four higher primary schools were set up in the mission stations and outstations. Total registration in these schools increased from 60 in 1904, to 189 in 1906, to 405 in 1908, to 1,613 in 1910. In 1909 the mission opened a boarding school in Chengtu for the

²⁴⁸Taylor, History of the West China Union University, 16.

²⁴⁹See Our West China Mission, 324-377; and the reports of the educational missionaries in the Annual Reports from 1904-05 to 1909-10.

children of missionaries working in western China, and during 1910 initiated normal teacher training programs in Chengtu, Chungking and Lanchwan. The missionaries also provided theological education for aspirant Chinese evangelists and a variety of general courses for their wives. As well, courses in science were offered to several Chinese working as medical trainees in the Chengtu hospitals.

Medical work, 1901-1911

The work of the Canadian Methodist Mission's medical department was beset by several problems which hindered the efficiency of its operations more than any other mission department of work during the decade after 1901.

Desires by the home church to expand the mission's evangelical and educational work prompted the General Secretary of the Missionary Society, Alexander Sutherland, to write Kilborn in February 1904 that while there were medical missionaries sufficient to "hold the fort" there was a definite need for evangelists and educators.²⁵⁰ This thinking on the part of the Church Executive resulted in a change in the occupational ratio of Szechwan bound missionaries from the one doctor per two missionary ratio that governed mission policy before 1900 into a one doctor per four missionary ratio. It in turn led to a shortage of medical missionaries. In 1900, five of the eight Canadian missionaries in Szechwan

²⁵⁰AUCC:WCM, Box 2, Folder 31, A. Sutherland to O.L. Kilborn, 8 February 1904.

were medical men, in 1906 only six of fourteen Canadians were doctors, and in 1911 only eighteen of sixty-eight missionaries were affiliated with the medical department.²⁵¹ Of these eighteen missionaries in 1911, however, only seven were active as doctors.²⁵²

The work of the small medical staff was further complicated by the decision taken by the Methodist Church in 1896 when it ordained Kilborn, a man with no theological training, for "special purposes". Kilborn worked as a doctor for only two of the ten years after 1902; W.E. Smith spent more than half of his time in evangelical work; and C.W. Service temporarily worked as an evangelist in 1906.

The need for renovations to the medical buildings in both Chengtu and Kiating, the construction of a new hospital in Chengtu, and furloughs also reduced the amount of time the medical men in these two centers could spend working among the Chinese. The returning missionaries found the dispensary and hospital floors in both cities severely rotted and in need of extensive repair.²⁵³ In 1907 construction of a three-storied one hundred and thirty

²⁵¹See Appendix III.

²⁵²Two doctors were on furlough in 1911. Of the remaining nine missionaries associated with the medical department four were doctors, two were dentists, one was a pharmacist, and two were nurses. All were in either their first or second year of language study, however, and were not engaged in full time medical work.

²⁵³These were the only buildings in either mission center that were damaged. The dispensary and hospital in Chengtu were opened by February 1902; the hospital in Kiating

bed hospital was begun in Chengtu.²⁵⁴ It took three years to complete and for the greater part of these three years the visiting hours of the dispensary were limited to several hours per week. Smith re-opened the Kiating hospital in April 1902, but when he returned to Canada on furlough in March 1903, it was closed and remained closed until September 1905. C.W. Service reopened the hospital for five months and then was forced to close it when he was transferred to evangelical work. He returned to the hospital in July and kept it opened until he left for Canada on furlough in March of 1909. The hospital was subsequently closed for a year before Dr. W. Crawford, an arrival to China in 1907, was posted to Kiating.

The decision by the mission to place one doctor in each of the mission stations opened after 1905 further taxed the time of the doctors. Not one of these centers had adequate medical facilities and most were without homes for the arriving medical men.²⁵⁵ Dr. J.R. Cox arrived in

was opened in April 1902. See the reports of R.B. Ewan and W.E. Smith in 78th AR 1901-02, xxx and xxvii respectively.

²⁵⁴While Ewan was in Canada on furlough between 1904-06 he solicited funds from the Canadian public for this church. When he returned to Chengtu he was given full responsibility for building the new church as well as full responsibility for all medical work in the city.

²⁵⁵Why the mission would place doctors in centers where no medical facilities were present when there was a shortage of doctors in Chengtu and Kiating is best answered by the following statement by R.B. Ewan: "Medical work in some form has been the instrument used of God to open almost every difficult field. But while dispensing and itinerating are valuable accessories, the hospital ward is,

Jenshow in October 1905 with the explicit responsibility of providing medical services. He spent nearly six months renovating existing buildings and passed the remainder of 1906 escorting other missionaries to and from Shanghai. It was not until May 1907 that he opened a dispensary.²⁵⁶ In the spring of 1909 he returned to Canada on furlough and Dr. F. F. Allan was sent to Jenshow as his replacement. Allan, however, had orders to build a new house before beginning his medical work! Situations similar to this faced Dr. W. Sheridan when he arrived in Tzeliutsing in February 1908, Dr. W. Crawford when he arrived in Penghsien in April 1908, and Dr. W.D. Ferguson when he opened medical work in Luchow in the spring of 1911. The first missionary employed solely in medical work did not arrive in Junghsien until 1910 although W.E. Smith became a resident missionary in that city in 1905. Of the three major cities taken over by the Canadian mission from the London Missionary Society, Chungking, Chungchow and Fowchow, only Chungking had a hospital. Dr. R. Wolfendale transferred from the English mission to the Canadian mission and remained in the eighty bed hospital.

without doubt, the ideal place for effective work. Like many in the homeland, the patient enters the hospital only as a last resort. There daily contact with the foreigner removes suspicion. Broken with suffering and softened by kindness, the heart is more ready to receive the message, and the enforced idleness gives time to ponder the truth. Any wonder, then, that seed sown under these circumstances, 'like bread cast upon the waters', is frequently being 'found after many days'?" See 83rd AR 1906-07, lxvii.

²⁵⁶Ibid., lxxi; 85th AR 1907-08, 33; Our West China Mission, 189 and 381-382.

A Canadian doctor was appointed to Chungchow in the spring of 1911. Fowchow did not receive its first doctor until 1913.

Despite their many problems the medical missionaries treated approximately 150,000 patients in their dispensaries and cared for another 2,700 more in their hospitals between 1901 and 1911.²⁵⁷ An average of 8,000 people a year visited the Chengtu dispensary between 1902 and 1906 before decreasing to less than 3,000 a year for the three years during which the hospital was under construction. Not until the mission year 1910-11 did the number of people seeking aid in the Chengtu dispensary surpass the 10,686 dispensary visits recorded in that center during the mission year 1897-98. Frequent breaks in the continuity of medical work in Kiating did not permit the medical department to greatly expand its work in that city. While the Kiating dispensary was opened an average of 3,500 people a year visited it. The new mission stations, in spite of inadequate medical facilities, attracted large numbers of Chinese. For the nine months ending March 31, 1908, the dispensaries in both Jenshow and Junghsien were visited by more Chinese than the dispensaries

²⁵⁷In Our West China Mission, C.W. Service notes that 102,336 people visited the mission dispensaries from 1897 to 1912. Analysis of the annual reports of the medical missionaries from 1901 through 1911 reveals Service's total for the fifteen years from 1897 to 1912 to be about one-third below the approximate number of visits for the decade after 1901. A similar finding holds true for the number of in-patients or the number of patients cared for in the mission hospitals. Our West China Mission, 398; and the Annual Reports, in pas-
sim.

in Chengtu and Kiating.²⁵⁸ With the completion of the Chengtu hospital, the reopening of the Kiating hospital, and medical work underway in Jenshow, Junghsien, Tzeliut-sing and Penghsien, the medical missionaries attended to a record number of patients. 46,333 patients, a number well more than three times the total number of patients in any previous year, visited the Canadian Methodist Mission's dispensaries during 1910-11.²⁵⁹

The motives for medical work and the responsibilities of the medical missionaries continued to be two-fold. In his annual report for 1906-07, Kilborn makes it emphatically clear that the dispensaries and hospitals were as much institutions for evangelization as they were institutions of healing:

But we do not come solely to heal diseases. Our great message is one of life and healing for the whole man, through Jesus Christ our Lord; that they 'may know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge,' and that they and we 'may be filled unto all the fulness of God.'²⁶⁰

Religious instruction continued to be given to all people coming to the dispensaries and to all patients staying in the hospitals. Chinese Christians were given partial charge of the Chengtu and Kiating hospital evangelical work; and in 1904, the Chengtu hospital selected four of sixteen applicants and enrolled these four men in a course of medical

²⁵⁸84th AR 1907-08, 24.

²⁵⁹87th AR 1910-11, 9.

²⁶⁰Report of O.L. Kilborn in 83rd AR 1906-07, lxviii.

and religious study.²⁶¹ The four worked as assistants to both the doctors and the evangelists.

The third exodus

Relations between the West China Mission and the non-Christian Chinese public of Szechwan were very cordial after 1902. Quick and effective suppression of the renewed Boxer threat in 1902 by Viceroy Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan and official accordance by the Imperial Court in 1903 of the missionaries right to hold property in the interior neutralized much of the latent suspicion that each held of the other. Not one annual report by any of the Canadian missionaries between 1902-03 and 1910-11 mentioned anti-foreign or anti-Christian riots, rumors of riots, or disturbances.²⁶²

The Canadian mission was also successful in building a positive rapport with the Szechwan officials and military. During the Boxer troubles in 1902 the Chengtu hospital succeeded in saving the life of a severely wounded military man. Shortly thereafter the Chengtu yamens sent several other wounded soldiers and officials to the hospital for treatment.²⁶³ This was not the first time that an official or soldier received medical attention in a Canadian hospital,

²⁶¹Report of O.L. Kilborn in 81st AR 1904-05, xxxvii.

²⁶²George Hartwell summed up the difference between the years before 1902 and the years 1902-1910 by writing "Up to 1902 the missionary went forth an unwelcome personage treated with ridicule and the butt of ribald jest, but from 1902 to 1910 he became a much sought after individual." See Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 136.

²⁶³Report of R.B. Ewan in 79th AR 1902-03, xxxvi.

but it was the first time that the yamens officially sent their men to the mission for treatment. Attendance by the Viceroy of Szechwan and an entourage of his officials at the opening of the Press in 1905 was an event unique in the history of mission work in Szechwan. This was the first time that a Viceroy of Szechwan was present at the opening of any aspect of missionary work. During the summer of that same year Kilborn approached several Chengtu officials for contributions to the Canadian hospital fund. He received Gold \$1,584.43 and noted that an "additional large sum might be received in this city, simply for the asking."²⁶⁴ In 1908 the provincial head office of the Chinese Imperial Post Office was moved from Chungking to Chengtu and R.B. Ewan was appointed surgeon to the staff by the District Postmaster.²⁶⁵ Ewan was given an honorarium of \$600 per annum and was told that he was selected for the position because the Canadian mission would soon have "by far the best hospital in West China."

Yet, despite their friendly relations with the Szechwan public and their friendly relations with the Szechwan government and military, in late 1911 the Canadian Methodist Mission evacuated its missionaries and their families from the province for the third time in sixteen years. China, in 1911, was in the throes of revolution. The Imperial Court was proving itself unable to meet the demands for change ad-

²⁶⁴Report of O.L. Kilborn in 81st AR 1904-05, xxxvii.

²⁶⁵Report of R.B. Ewan in 85th AR 1908-09, 41.

vocated by the Constitutionalists who called for a constitutional monarchy and the Revolutionists who held as their objective the establishment of a republic. In Szechwan, both groups suddenly found themselves drawn together in common cause with a large number of until then politically inactive Szechwanese when the Court decreed the nationalization of the province's railway franchise on May 11, 1911.²⁶⁶

Reaction to the Court's nationalization decree in Szechwan and the three other provinces concerned, Hunan, Hupeh, and Kwangtung, was that of immediate condemnation. A United Railway Party was organized in Peking by the provincial representatives from Szechwan, Hunan and Hupeh, and the government was petitioned to rescind the decree and return to its former railway policy. It refused. In Szechwan, a "Railway League" set up headquarters in Chengtu and amid such slogans as "The Railway Franchise was Pledged to

²⁶⁶The events which led to the nationalization decree are interesting. In 1903 Peking drew up plans for the building of railroads from Chengtu to Hankow and from Hankow to Kwangtung, and declared that the people in the provinces concerned could finance and build these railroads. The Court established a company for each railroad and appointed managers and directors to them. In Szechwan, a scheme was organized which allowed each landowner who paid an additional landtax to become a bondholder in the company. Originally only the landowning gentry were affected. As time went on, however, they began passing this tax on to those who rented land from them. A large number of peasants soon began to feel an affinity for the railroad. As well, additional monies were raised for the railroad from increased likin (transport taxes) levies on salt and Szechwan produced consumer goods. These levies affected the people of Szechwan at large. By 1911, although some thirty millions of dollars had been raised, only 125 li (approximately 42 miles; a li equals approximately 1/3 of a mile) out of the 3,000 li between Ichang and Chengtu were completed and the company was all but bankrupt. It appeared that a very large

Provincial Officials" and "Protect our Railway, save our Land" encouraged the establishing of "Save the Railway Leagues" throughout the whole of the province. Originally their objective was solely that of saving the provincial railway franchise. As the summer wore on, however, and as the Court appeared determined to hold firm the movement became anti-Manchu and pro-Szechwan. And as it became increasingly anti-Manchu, it became violent.

On August 24 a general strike called by the railway leagues paralyzed all business activity in Chengtu. The Governor-General of Szechwan, Chao Er-feng, reacted to the growing insurgency by arresting and placing nine of the Chengtu League's most important officials in his yamen on September 7. Crowds immediately gathered and began demanding their release. The official guards opened fire and

proportion of the capital had been swindled. All attempts by the bondholders to discover the nature of the expenditures through audit, however, were frustrated by higher authorities. In November of 1910 a new Minister of Communications, Sen Suan Huai, petitioned the Court that it secure a ten million pound loan from a Japanese bank, indemnify the bondholders, and make the provincial franchise a national franchise. The Court agreed to the petition, appointed a new Superintendent to the railway company, called for an audit, and promised to make a gradual refund to the bondholders. It also promised swift punishment to all bondholders who refused to go along with the decree. For a background to the railroad question and a discussion of the events which took place in Szechwan during 1911, see S.C. Yang, "The Revolution in Szechuan, 1911-1912", West China Border Research Society Journal, vol. 6, 1933-1934, 64-90; Han Suyin, The Crippled Tree (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 220-260; Wu Yu-Chang, The Revolution of 1911 (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1962), Chapters 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 22; and Li Chien-Nung, The Political History of China 1840-1928, trans. and ed. by Ssu-Yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls (Princeton: Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956), 243-244.

"upwards of twenty people were killed outright."²⁶⁷ Chao then petitioned the Court to abandon its nationalization decree and return the railway rights to the people of the provinces. From Wuchang the new Superintendent of the Chengtu-Hankow railway, Tuan-fang, criticized Chao's petition and implored the Court to remain steadfast in its decision. The Court, in consequence, removed Chao from office and promoted Tuan to the post of acting Governor-General of Szechwan. He was given a force of men and was ordered to waste little time in suppressing all opposition in Szechwan. The railway leagues now became increasingly militant. Events moved swiftly. Manchu garrisons were attacked throughout the province and on September 25 the flag of the republic was raised in Junghsien.²⁶⁸ Two weeks later, on October 10, while Tuan was in Chungking enroute to Chengtu, the Chinese revolution broke out in full force in Wuchang. On November 22 the republic was declared in Chungking and on November 27 the independence of Szechwan was proclaimed in Chengtu. Tuan-fang was killed by his own men in November 27; and a month later, on December 22, Chao Er-feng was executed by the revolutionary government in Chengtu.

By the last week in August, 1911, the work of the Canadian Methodist Mission was at a standstill. The nation-

²⁶⁷ AUCC:WCM, Box 3, Folder 41, O.L. Kilborn to T.E.E. Shore, 9 September 1911.

²⁶⁸ Wu Yu-Chang, The Revolution of 1911, 116-117; Han Suyin, The Crippled Tree, 256.

alization decree had also nurtured a fear among the people of Szechwan that the Court's latent intentions were that of selling the railroad franchise to foreign interests. Slogans demanding the return of the franchise were soon paralleled by other slogans calling for an end to imperialism and a stripping away of the foreign hold on China. And as on all earlier occasions when anti-foreign rumors circulated throughout the city, attendances in the various activities carried on by the mission began to fall. In the latter part of August the mission stopped most of its work in an attempt to avoid providing any anti-foreign agitators with a pretext for hostilities. Shortly thereafter, on the morning of August 31, the British Consul General ordered the evacuation of all foreign women and children from the province.

The missionaries did not, in actuality, have to fear anti-foreign outbreaks organized by either the government officials or the railway league officials. Both made it publicly known that their quarrel was not with the missionaries or any of the foreigners living in the province.²⁶⁹ Rather, it was fear of the possibility of a spontaneous attack by an unruly and nervous crowd that motivated the British Consul General to order the evacuation. Chao Er-feng was not prepared to provide men for an official escort downriver, however, and during the evening of August 31 guaranteed the

²⁶⁹S.C. Yang, "The Revolution in Szechuan, 1911-1912", 72; AUCC:WCM, Box 3, Folder 41, O.L. Kilborn to T.E.E. Shore, 4 September 1911.

safety of the missionaries on the condition that they remain in Chengtu for a few more days. The atmosphere in the city remained tense and on September 6 the British consulate ordered all British subjects to move into the Canadian Methodist Mission's hospital. One hundred and five foreign men, women and children were in the hospital on September 7 when Chao made his first attempt to crush the growing power of the leagues by seizing nine of their leaders. With the city in an uproar the "few more days" asked for by Chao Er-feng turned into more than three months. It was not until December 2 that the first Canadians, twenty adults and eleven children, left Chengtu.²⁷⁰ Another twenty adults and seven children remained in the city until December 20-21.²⁷¹ Canadian missionaries and their families in the other mission stations made their way to Chungking by mid-October.²⁷²

None of the Canadians in either Chengtu or the other mission stations were confronted by anti-foreign hostility and all arrived in Chungking in good health. All, except Stewart, Parker, Wolfendale and Kilborn continued downriver to Shanghai. While in Chungking, Kilborn penned the following lines in a letter to T.E.E. Shore the Executive Secretary of the Missionary Society on January 16, 1912:

²⁷⁰Ibid., 4 December 1909.

²⁷¹Ibid., 25 December 1911.

²⁷²Ibid., 4 October 1911.

Whether the revolution drags through months or years, there will surely be a great impetus given to Christian work when peace is restored. The Chinese NATION feels the new life coursing through its veins already. They are free - or will be entirely free very shortly - from a foreign yoke, and the common people are rejoicing in a spirit of nationhood. New hopes and new aspirations are filling their minds and hearts. The shackles of old customs and old traditions are being shaken off. The queue is gone, foreign dress is being adopted by not a few, and the western calendar has taken the place of the old Chinese; the whole system of government is being radically changed; and while many mistakes will be made, yet they will learn through their mistakes, and that which is being adopted will contribute mightily to the rejuvenation of this old new people of China. If I were a Chinese, I would be a revolutionist today.²⁷³

On February 29, 1912, Stewart and Kilborn were back in Chengtu and a new chapter in the history of the Canadian Methodist Mission in Szechwan, China, was underway.

Conclusions

The circumstances surrounding the withdrawal of Canadian Methodist missionaries and their families from Szechwan in 1911 differed significantly from those which caused their two earlier evacuations. The anti-foreign violence which preceded their 1895 abandonment of the province and the anti-foreign demonstrations which preceded their departure in 1900 were missing in 1911. Szechwan, in 1911, was aflame with Han nationalism, rather than anti-foreignism. Neither the government officials or the railway leagues blamed the missionaries for the difficulties existing between Peking and the province and both voiced concern for the safety of the missionaries. The Canadians left their work in 1911, not

²⁷³Ibid., 16 January 1912.

because of actual threats from organized agitators, but because of the possibility of spontaneous and uncontrollable anti-foreign outbreaks.

The attitude of the mission and the missionaries towards their "rights" in 1911 also differed from their attitude towards the same in 1895 and 1900. In 1895 the Canadian Methodist Mission was insulted because the people and government of Szechwan dared to question its presence in the province and its activities. The missionaries believed they had certain "rights" and they continued to advertise their work despite growing anti-foreign opposition. Unfortunately they succeeded only in raising the anger of those who were determined to rid the province of all missionaries. They were less emphatic about their "rights" in 1900. But, by continuing to work until the time of their departure, they offered anti-foreign agitators numerous pretexts for demonstrations and hostilities. By 1911 the missionaries had matured enough to realize that if the people of Szechwan grew excited and nervous it would be wise on their part to avoid giving them any reason for hostilities. As a result the missionaries brought most of their work to a standstill in August.

The decade after 1901 was a decade of great growth and expansion for the Canadian Methodist Mission. The missionaries found politeness and friendliness in cities and towns where they had earlier been despised. They received numerous requests for Christian literature and visits from

all classes of Chinese throughout their mission field. The enthusiasm and favorable financial position of the home church permitted the number of missionaries associated with the mission to rise from six in 1902 to sixty-eight in 1911, and the expenditures on the mission to rise from \$10,575.53 in 1902 to \$109,702.29 in 1911. It also permitted the acquisition of a new mission field. By 1911, over seventeen hundred church members were living in the ten stations and ninety out-stations, nearly seventeen hundred students were being taught in Canadian schools and the West China Union University, and forty-six thousand visits had been made to Canadian hospitals and dispensaries during the previous year.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This, then, is the history of the first two decades of the Canadian Methodist West China Mission. In all sixty-eight missionaries diligently organized and supervised Christian work in the Chinese province of Szechwan. Their task had not been an easy one. Yet, despite the difficulty of learning Chinese, the many differences between Western culture and Chinese culture, the animosity of many Chinese towards foreigners, the financial position of the home church, and a general shortage of missionaries, the mission persevered and succeeded in giving birth to a network of educational and medical institutions, in setting up a Christian Press, and in providing the impetus for a Chinese Christian Church. By 1911 the Canadian Methodist Mission was one of the most influential foreign institutions in Szechwan. It remains now to bring to a point the various considerations advanced at the outset of this study.

Let us turn first to the various influences the other Christian missions in China had upon the Canadian mission and the philosophy of the Canadian mission. We have already noted that if any one man was responsible for the direction taken by the Canadian mission, that man was Virgil C. Hart. Hart's philosophy on mission methods

and objectives was both the result of his earlier experiences in China, and the result of widescale questioning among many Protestant missionaries during the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

Hart had begun his work in China when the slogan "the evangelization of the world in this generation" summed up the philosophy for most mission activity. The philosophy and its chief spokesman, Griffith John, placed total emphasis on the spreading of the gospel as rapidly as possible, and assumed that once non-Christians learned of the gospel message, they would automatically see the path to their salvation and become converted. Missionaries supporting this movement saw as their grand objective little more than that of simply spreading the gospel message as quickly as possible. Direct evangelism through streetside preaching, itinerant tours, and the distribution of Christian literature was the method advocated. Schools, hospitals, orphanages and other similar humanitarian institutions might be established, but they were to be of secondary importance, and were to be cherished only after the more pressing need of preaching and evangelization had been fulfilled. Missionaries were, according to this philosophy, in China to work towards the spiritual regeneration of the Chinese rather than their social, medical, cultural or political regeneration.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century increasing numbers of missionaries, including V.C. Hart,

began to question the actual impact made by this rather simplistic approach to evangelization. The propagandizing of the gospel along the lines described above had not led to largescale conversions. At the same time, statistics from missions providing schools and hospitals seemed to indicate that the numbers of Chinese seriously accepting the Christian way of life directly paralleled the establishment of social institutions. Many missionaries were also becoming increasingly disenchanted with the inability of the Chinese court to find solutions to its social and political problems at the same time that western governments appeared to be surging forward in these areas. The missionaries were products of their own civilization and it was very difficult for many of them to avoid comparisons between western civilization and Chinese civilization. By the turn of the twentieth century increasing numbers of them reasoned without hesitation that the west was progressive and powerful because it was Christian, and concluded that if China wished to be strong and powerful, then she too must become Christian. Conversion of the Chinese, not only to Christianity, but to western culture and civilization, gradually became the objective for these missionaries.

The philosophy adopted by Hart and the Canadian Methodist Mission was influenced by this debate over mission methods and objectives. The Canadian mission cherished the idea of simple evangelization. As the years went by, however, it found itself moving towards the westernization of the

Chinese. Hart's character and personality, themselves, reflect this transition. He was a master evangelist of the type demanded by John; yet, he had stressed the importance of humanitarian agencies early in his career. And if he had not admitted before 1891 that he had lost all patience and hope in China's ability to solve its problems, his attitude and actions in the aftermath of the Chengtu riots certainly proved that he had. In much the same way the Methodist Church of Canada found its attitude change between 1891 and 1902. In 1891 it gave birth to a small mission with the expressed hope that the Christian message could be spread without serious confrontation with the Chinese. Funds were limited and the staff sent to China was small in number. The Church called for restraint on the part of its missionaries and felt that the Chinese could best solve their own problems by themselves. A dozen years later, however, it called for greatly increased Canadian involvement in China and declared that China's salvation was to come not from China, but from the west.

Despite the militant position taken by Hart in 1895 and the statements made by the Methodist Church in 1902, both Hart and the Canadian Church continued to believe that all changes in China were to be initiated and carried into practice by Chinese Christians rather than foreign missionaries. The statements made by the Methodist Executive on the morrow of the Boxer Rebellion appear, in particular, to be over-reaction to the savagery of that rebellion rather

than a real change in philosophy. For the decade between 1901 and 1911 the mission continued as it had between 1891 and 1901 to develop and expand new structures for the Chinese so that they themselves could work for change. In essence, the philosophy which governed the mission from 1891 to 1911 was neither of the type presented by the traditionalist, Griffith John, or the type presented by the new liberals, but a compromise between the two. Like John, the Canadian mission advocated direct evangelism; but, unlike John, the Canadian mission realized the importance of social services. And unlike the liberals, the Canadians did not see social services as the most important end in themselves, but as a very essential corollary to obtaining their primary objective in China - that of building a Chinese Christian Church.

The establishment of a Chinese Christian Church was the principle reason for the Canadian presence in China. The Methodist Executive, Hart and the missionaries all held this objective. It was also in this area, more than any other, that the Canadian mission demonstrated its belief that Chinese were to be responsible for molding their own institutions for change.

Support for the latter statement rests in the Canadian attitude towards association with the other missions working in Szechwan. Cooperation between such extremes of Protestantism as Quakers, Baptists, Anglicans and Methodists had always been difficult; nevertheless, in 1899, primarily

through the initiative of the Canadian mission, representatives from these four missions met in Chungking and organized an Advisory Board of Reference and Cooperation for the supervision of their work in the province. The Board immediately set up ecclesiastical spheres of influence, agreed upon a common hymn book, organized the evangelical West China Tract Society and provided funds for a missionary journal, the West China Missionary News. Following this came agreement in 1905 to coordinate the educational work and to found a Christian university. Two years later the Board adopted the goal of "one Protestant Church for West China" and agreed to accept the transfer of baptized Chinese from one mission to another mission without examination. Such efforts did not culminate in the formation of a Chinese Christian Church before 1911, but they did succeed in lessening rivalry and senseless competition among the foreign missions. Of more importance was the fact that these efforts also succeeded in bringing together Chinese from all parts of the province who were interested in founding their own Church.

The final steps in the formation of a Chinese Church were taken in the period between the return of the Canadians in 1913 and their fourth evacuation from Szechwan in 1927. In 1913 Chinese were appointed to committees on church union. Their role continued to be enlarged until in 1925 the Protestant Christians of Szechwan, both foreign and Chinese, convened the first General Conference of the Chris-

tian Churches of Szechwan in Chengtu. The significant difference between this and previous gatherings was that now the majority of delegates and much of the leadership were Chinese. In that same year the Canadian mission elected a Chinese president of its evangelical structure and three of its ten districts elected Chinese chairmen. Chinese influence within the mission and the Christian movement matured quickly over the next several years. In early 1927 the Canadians left Szechwan for the fourth time. During their absence Chinese evangelists, doctors, teachers and lay Christians continued the work of the mission. Upon their return the missionaries found all departments of work proceeding normally. "The Chinese Church had come of age" and the Canadians returned to "work under the direction of their Chinese colleagues."²⁷⁴ The Canadian mission had demonstrated with selfless zeal in the years before 1911, that they could work for the Chinese in a manner quite unlike that found in other parts of China.

All of the other areas of work organized by the mission were channelled towards the development of this Church. The medical, educational and Press facilities did not exist solely because they provided humanitarian aid and help. They were set up for the explicit purpose of further influencing the Chinese to become Christians. The mission rec-

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Kenneth J. Beaton, West of the Gorges (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1948), 28.

ognized that a simple spreading of the gospel message was not enough to gain and keep converts. Unless the mission put ~~in~~ into practice the message it conveyed, the missionaries felt that the Chinese would lose interest in it. Thus, between 1891 and 1911, the Canadian mission constructed hospitals in Chengtu, Kiating and Jenshow, set up dispensaries in Luchow, Tzeliutsing, Junghsien and Penghsien, and purchased a hospital in Chungking. By 1910 the medical department had two hundred and thirty hospital beds; and over the twenty years had treated nearly two hundred thousand Chinese in its hospitals and dispensaries and another fifty thousand more Chinese on itinerate tours. In 1910 the mission supervised fifty-nine lower and primary schools, was participating in a university and was teaching nearly seventeen hundred students. By the following year the two missionary printers and their staff of fifty Chinese printers were publishing over one hundred thousand pages daily in four different languages. The Canadian mission practiced good works to convince the Chinese that its message was one of good works.

In pursuing their objective the Canadians could not avoid confrontation with Chinese culture and society. The Church that these missionaries wanted to see established was alien to Chinese civilization and the missionaries soon found themselves denouncing Confucian tradition, condemning the practices of Chinese medical men, questioning the framework and philosophy of the Chinese educational system, and

attacking Chinese social norms. The Canadians saw little good in traditional Chinese society.

Fortunately, the manner in which the Canadians expressed this attitude changed rather significantly after 1895. Prior to the Chengtu riots the Canadian missionaries demonstrated their lack of concern for Chinese traditions and civilization in a rather naive fashion. Despite Hart's warnings in Western China A Journey to the Great Buddhist Centre of Mount Omei in regards to the intelligence of the literati class and the strength of Chinese traditions, both he and the other missionaries proceeded to pursue a policy that led them to a head-on clash with the Chinese. The Canadians were the first group of missionaries to Szechwan to retain their native dress; the Canadian mission attempted to construct the first foreign designed building in the province; the Canadians demanded outright that the authorities recognize that they had rights; and the Canadians attacked Confucian philosophy zealously as being heathen, derogatory and evil. To their credit, they learned from the disastrous Chengtu riots of 1895. In the succeeding years to 1911, the Canadians adopted the Chinese gown for all but formal occasions, constructed buildings based on a Sino-Western design, learned that the "saving of face" was as important as the obtaining of their rights; and took the time to demonstrate what they felt was weak in Chinese society through discussion and dialogue. This is not to say that Canadian motives were mediated or changed by the Chinese

environment. The Canadians continued to work towards the replacement of Confucian society by Christian beliefs. But, as they learned more about China, their methods came to be influenced by a greater respect for the Chinese.

Although the Canadians continued to criticize the weaknesses present in Chinese society, they avoided involvement in Chinese politics. Canadian interest in this area was restricted to concern that the court and officials work towards and provide more enlightened leadership. Their institutions attempted to train Chinese Christians, not Chinese nationalists, and although many missionaries supported the revolutionary movement, they wisely avoided publicizing their feelings.

Any assessment of Chinese reaction to the West China Mission will be weak because of the almost total dependence of this study upon English and missionary sources. Nevertheless, despite this and despite the fact that the missionaries were forced to leave Szechwan three times in twenty years, certain conclusions can be offered. The evacuations in 1900 and 1911 were not fostered by direct anti-Canadian or anti-Christian or anti-foreign demonstrations in Szechwan. They came about only as a result of fears among Chinese officials and foreign consular officials of probable anti-foreign demonstrations. The Canadian missionaries, themselves, appeared willing to remain in Szechwan on both occasions. The Canadians also made significant inroads among the officials and literati of the province. The presence of the Governor

with several of his officials at the opening of the Press facilities in 1905 was the first time that any Chinese official had attended the dedication of a missionary institution in Szechwan; a Canadian doctor was appointed chief medical authority for the Chinese post office in 1908; Chinese soldiers were sent to the Canadian hospital by their supervisors; and the mission had little difficulty soliciting monies from rich Chinese for mission expansion. And, while the decade between 1891 and 1901 did not see the Canadians win a large number of friends and converts, the decade preceeding the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, did pass without any anti-Canadian demonstrations and did see the number of baptized Chinese attached to the mission grow from zero in 1895 to over five hundred by 1911. The Canadians themselves felt a favorably growing reaction from the Chinese. In the final analysis their concern is probably the best barometer for judging Chinese reaction. Note, once again, the words written by George Hartwell to describe changing Chinese attitudes during these two decades:

Truly the times had changed. Up to 1902 the missionary went forth an unwelcome personage treated with ridicule and the butt of ribald jest, but from 1902 to 1910 he became a much sought after individual. "Come to us and help us" was the cry heard from all directions.²⁷⁵

In drawing this study to a close we are thus left with

²⁷⁵George E. Hartwell, Granary of Heaven, 136.

the following conclusions. First, the objective for all work carried on by the Canadian West China Mission in Szechwan between 1891 and 1911 was a Chinese Christian Church. These two decades saw the groundwork laid; and the fourteen year period between the return of the missionaries in 1913 and their fourth evacuation in 1927 was to see the realization of such an institution. Secondly, in pursuing this objective the Canadian mission found itself part of a philosophical debate over mission methods and objectives. The philosophy followed by the Canadian mission was a compromise between that voiced by the traditionalist missions concerned primarily with direct evangelism and growing numbers of liberal missions which saw as their grand task the westernization of China. The Canadian mission wanted to see social changes in China. These changes were to be fostered, however, by Chinese Christians, not foreign institutions. Thirdly, the work of all social and humanitarian institutions organized by the mission, such as schools, hospitals, printing facilities and orphanages, was coordinated towards the building of a Chinese Christian Church. The Canadians were primarily concerned with the saving of souls, rather than bodies or minds. These institutions were provided to prove to the Chinese that the Canadian message was one of good works. Finally, the attitude of the Canadian missionaries during their initial period of work (1891-1895) brought the mission into a violent confrontation with the Chinese. The Chengtu riots of 1895 brought humiliation to the Chinese

court and degradation to several officials in Szechwan. The Canadians learned from this disruption of mission work and from 1895 to 1911 avoided alienating the population of the province. Following a policy based on understanding and discussion, rather than denunciation and dismissal of all things Chinese, the missionaries found themselves cordially received by increasing numbers of Chinese.

The Canadian missionaries were sincere and unselfish. In pursuit of the glorification of their God they had left their comfortable homes to work in a land and a society very different from their own. The only reward they expected and desired was the opportunity to work with non-Christians in an attempt to make them aware of a different way of life. The period covered in this study is only part of the history of this mission. The Canadians returned in 1913, were forced to leave again in 1927, then returned later in that year to remain in Szechwan until 1949 and their final and permanent departure from China. The history of the mission from 1912 to 1949 remains to be written. Until it is, the conclusions arrived at by this study must be guarded as being applicable only to the period under discussion. Amid the tensions and machinations caused by rampaging warlords, Kuomintang and Communist rivalry, a war against Japan, and the final success of the Communists, the years from 1912 to 1949 were to prove whether or not the Canadian message was one worthy of concern by the Chinese and whether or not the Canadians could continue to display the sincerity and unselfishness which characterized their work in the 1891-1911 period.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

Dr. Virgil C. Hart

By 1890, Virgil C. Hart, had accumulated nearly a quarter century of missionary service in China. Born in 1840 the son of a rural family in Lorraine, New York, he received his education at Gouverneur Wesleyan Seminary, Northwestern University, and the Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois. Hart was convinced by the story of David Livingstone that his task for life was that of a missionary and in 1866 he arrived in Foochow as a representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States.

A born linguist, he spent less than a year in language study before beginning active work among the people of China. In that same year, 1867, Hart's home Church looked towards Central China as an area suitable for a Methodist Episcopal Mission. At twenty-seven years of age, he was sent out to open the Society's first mission field in an area two hundred and fifty miles wide, seven hundred miles long (all Kiangsi, parts of Anhwei, Kiangsu and Hupeh) and with a population close to one hundred million. The young superintendent of the Central China Mission of the M.E.C. became the first Protestant missionary to reside in Kiukiang, Kiangsi. There he remained until a year of furlough allowed him to return

to America in 1871.

Upon his return in 1872, the Central China Mission consolidated its work in Kiuking and established new missions in Chinkiang in 1880, Wuhu and Nanchang in 1881. In the latter part of 1881, Hart's health was considerably weakened by periodic attacks of malaria and he was forced to return to the United States and Canada. His Canadian wife had preceeded him earlier in the year and was living in Ingersoll, Ontario.

Although his furlough was supposed to be a year of rest, Hart was soon working indefatigably for the support of missions and for his own hopes of opening a fifth mission, in the important Yangtze city of Nanking. He returned to China in 1883 with \$10,000 for the building of a mission hospital in Nanking. The project was completed in 1886 and was officially opened in the presence of thirteen high ranking Chinese mandarins and the Honorable Colonel Charles Denby, the United States Minister to China.

Hart was granted another furlough in the spring of 1887. But, with his baggage on board a ship destined for San Francisco and with the ship due to depart within minutes, a message arrived from his superior telling him of his appointment as superintendent to the M.E.C.'s West China Mission, and asking him to proceed to Chungking, to re-establish the mission destroyed by anti-foreign outbursts during the previous year. Hart departed for the

city located one thousand miles inland from Shanghai and succeeded in re-establishing the destroyed mission. Then with a desire to mingle among the people, to search out possible new areas for Christian work, to disseminate religious literature and to visit the sacred Buddhist mountain at Omei, Hart travelled through central Szechwan before returning to Chungking. He arrived in Chungking with his health impaired by malaria. In December he sailed from Shanghai to his family in Canada.

In Canada, Hart spent the first several months of his furlough completing an opinionated travelogue of his visit to Szechwan. For this book, Western China A Journey to the Great Buddhist Centre of Mount Omei; a work written on Confucianism later in the year, The Temple and the Sage; and for his lengthy years of service in China, Hart was made a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society and had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Garrett Biblical Institute.

One years furlough, however, could not overcome the physical weakness caused by five years of nervous strain and several severe bouts of malaria. On the advice of his physician Hart resigned his dual superintendencies in 1889 and moved to Fordham in New York where he spent a year as Missionary Secretary to the Christian Alliance. Unfortunately his health did not improve and in 1890 he purchased a small fruit farm in Burlington, Ontario, and returned to Canada. Within a year his health returned to

normal. The Methodist Church of Canada was at this same time preparing arrangements for its West China Mission.

APPENDIX II

THE YEARLY EXPENDITURES BY THE MISSIONARY
SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH OF
CANADA ON THE WEST CHINA MISSION*

YEAR	EXPENDITURE ON THE WEST CHINA MISSION	% OF THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE BY THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY	TOTAL EXPEN- DITURE BY THE MISSION- ARY SOCIETY
1891-1892	\$ 10,364.57	4.1	\$ 238,685.00
1892-1893	5,769.73	2.4	231,983.24
1893-1894	8,339.07	3.7	225,380.29
1894-1895	6,372.80	2.7	238,286.53
1895-1896	10,256.98	4.1	229,941.27
1896-1897	7,152.96	2.9	238,824.27
1897-1898	8,954.73	3.4	263,097.51
1898-1899	8,883.41	3.5	257,972.07
1899-1900	9,989.40	3.5	280,224.48
1900-1901	12,203.25	4.3	282,103.49
1901-1902	10,575.53	3.9	276,628.66
1902-1903	13,518.68	4.7	287,621.36
1903-1904	13,998.63	4.4	308,828.70
1904-1905	16,311.60	4.7	330,265.24
1905-1906	21,310.91	5.5	369,352.28
1906-1907	45,589.01	10.2	448,746.09
1907-1908	49,579.99	10.5	469,185.54
1908-1909	89,007.24	16.3	543,985.33
1909-1910	77,817.70	13.1	575,201.47
1910-1911	109,702.29	19.2	667,308.35

Source: The Annual Reports of the Missionary Society
of the Methodist Church from 1891 to 1911.

*The figures listed under the column titled EXPENDITURES ON THE WEST CHINA MISSION represent monies received from the Missionary Society of the Church and do not include private donations sent directly to the West China Mission by concerned persons or groups in Canada. For example, the \$1,000.00 sent by Jairus Hart in 1893 is not included in the EXPENDITURE for 1893-1894.

APPENDIX III

STATISTICS FOR THE NUMBER OF MISSIONARIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CANADIAN METHODIST MISSION, SZECHWAN, AND THEIR PRINCIPAL AREA OF WORK, 1891-1911

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER	ACTIVELY EMPLOYED	ON FURLOUGH	LANGUAGE STUDENTS	PRINCIPAL EVANGELISTIC EDUCATIONAL PRESS	AREA OF WORK MEDICAL DENTAL PHARMACY OTHERS
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1891-1892	4	1	-	3	2	-
1892-1893	4	1	-	3	2	-
1893-1894	6	4	-	2	3	-
1894-1895	6	4	-	2	3	-
1895-1896	6	-	-	-	-	-
1896-1897	6	4	1	1	3	-
1897-1898	7	5	-	2	4	-
1898-1899	7	6	1	-	4	-
1899-1900	7	7	-	-	4	-
1900-1901	8	-	-	-	-	-
1901-1902	6	5	-	1	3	-
1902-1903	9	5	-	4	5	-
1903-1904	11	6	1	4	6	-
1904-1905	12	8	1	3	6	-
1905-1906	14	11	1	2	8	-
1906-1907	23	12	1	9	16	-
1907-1908	29	12	-	17	20	-
1908-1909	45	11	4	30	30	1
1909-1910	53	23	5	26	34	1
1910-1911	68	27	10	31	48	2

Source: The Annual Reports of the Missionary Society of the
Methodist Church from 1891 through 1911.

MAPS



FIGURE II: CHINA

FIGURE III:

WEST CHINA

SZECHWAN PROVINCE - 60,000,000

KWEICHOW PROVINCE - 8,000,000

YUNNAN PROVINCE 12,000,000



Source: A Statement of Mission Plant and Maintenance,
Published by the Methodist Church of Canada, "n.d."

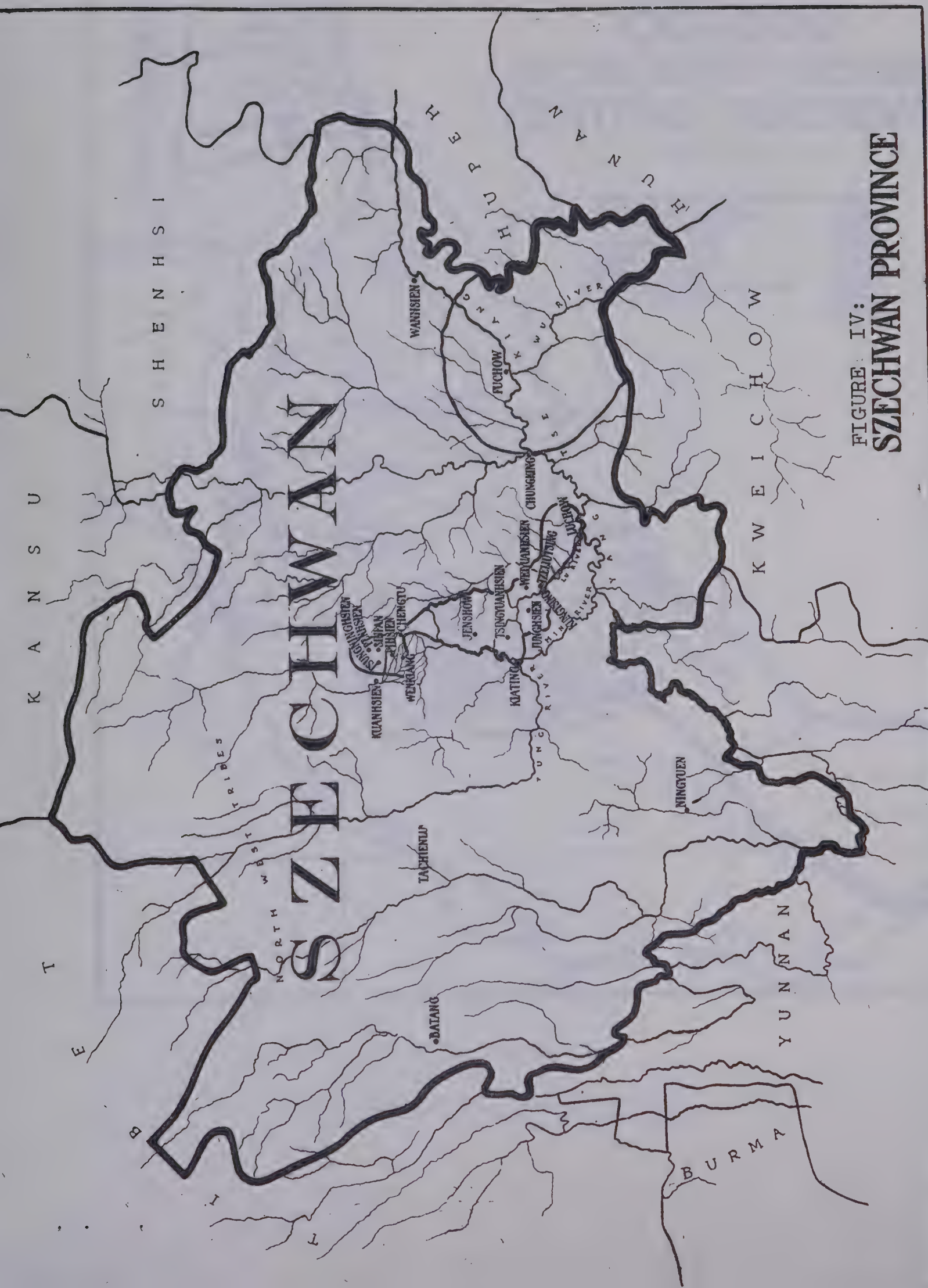


FIGURE IV:
SZECHWAN PROVINCE

FIGURE V: CANADIAN METHODIST MISSION CENTRAL SZECHWAN

NORTHERN DISTRICT, POPULATION	1,530,000
CHENG TU CITY, OUR SHARE	125,000
CHENG TU, TWO HSIENS	300,000
JENSHOW DISTRICT	1,000,000
JUNGHSIEN DISTRICT	800,000
KIATING DISTRICT	700,000
TZELIUTSING & WEIYUAN DISTRICT	1,500,000
LUCHOW DISTRICT	500,000
	6,455,000



FIGURE VI:



CHENG TU, THE CAPITAL OF SZECHWAN, AND HEADQUARTERS OF THE
CANADIAN METHODIST MISSION.

1. U Shia Kiai compound.
2. Sz Shen Tsz Kiai compound.
3. Woman's Missionary Society hospital.
4. Union Woman's Normal School.
5. Sutherland Memorial Church.
6. Y.M.C.A.
7. Street Chapel, East Gate.
8. West China Union University.
9. East Military Parade Ground.
10. Methodist Episcopal Mission.
11. China Inland Mission.
12. Roman Catholic Mission.
13. American Baptist Mission.
14. Church Missionary Society.
15. Friend's Mission.

Source: Our West China Mission (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1920).

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